

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.





WILLIAM & ANNE BENTLEY

THE  
HISTORY  
OF

CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY;

*Catilia (L. J.)*

WITH THE

*K*  
FOUR ORATIONS

OF

CICERO:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS;

DEDICATED TO THE

EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

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BY GEORGE FREDERIC SYDNEY.

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HOC ILLUD EST PRÆCIPUE IN COGNITIONE RERUM SALUBRE AC FRU-  
GIFERUM, OMNIS TE EXEMPLI DOCUMENTA IN ILLUSTRIS POSITA  
MONUMENTO INTUERI; INDE TIBI TUÆQUE REIPUBLICÆ QUOD  
IMITERI, CAPIAS; FÆDUM INCEPTU, FÆDUM EXITU, QUOD VITES.

LIVY.

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1795.

THE

HISTORICAL

CATHEDRAL



BY GEORGE HERBERT

Author of 'The Cathedral Church of Winchester' and 'The Cathedral Church of Salisbury'.

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TO

LORD LAUDERDALE.

MY LORD,

THE part which you have acted for some years past on the great stage of national business, and the spirit which you displayed in various scenes allotted to you, perhaps, by your chief manager, or, it may be, chosen by yourself, have made you a conspicuous character in the political drama of this country. You have been observed, my lord, with close attention; the zeal with which you enforced your argument, and the flowers of rhetoric with which you adorned it, have called forth the applause of some, and excited the wonder of all; you have been considered as a phænomenon in the political hemisphere, and men have strained their eyes to trace you in your brilliant career. They remained, indeed, ignorant of the cause that kindled so much ardour, and, for that reason, were willing to hope, that, in good time, they should feel the effect of so much animation and unwearied industry.

Were I inclined to adopt the usual language of dedications, the opportunity is fair, and I might



here attempt to rival Pliny in panegyric. Like that author, I might give your lordship a list of your virtues, without fear of offending your modesty, or of incurring the danger of misconstruction. Were I to celebrate your fixed and unalterable attachment to the few chosen friends with whom, be the question what it may, you act on all occasions, it would not be necessary with studied artifice to varnish the matter, for you have told us in plain English, that you are a *party man*. Were I to set forth in a strain of warm commendation, your repeated and unceasing efforts to compel the ministers of this country, with due humility, to offer terms of peace, no man would be found capable of so sinister an interpretation, as to charge me with insinuating that your lordship is inclined to favour the cause of France; for you have told us, that, on the breaking out of the war, you trembled for our commerce. In like manner, that spirit of moderation and humanity which you have so eminently displayed towards the malefactors convicted at Edinburgh, and since transported to Botany Bay, cannot be deemed a latent design to encourage the fomenters of sedition, when it is known, upon your lordship's own authority, to be a generous wish to restore the mild practice of the English laws. The warmth, the vehemence and energy of your spirited declamations against Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, cannot be called

called scurrility, when it is considered that you only speak the language of *party on principle*. These and the rest of your lordship's public virtues are inviting topics; but the panegyric has been so well finished, and so highly coloured by your own hand, that I, who can only sketch in crayons, am in haste to pass to that portrait of yourself, which you have exhibited in your admired picture-gallery, lately presented to the peers of Scotland.

In that celebrated performance, your lordship has drawn off the veil that covered your conduct. You have thought proper to take the field in the character of a pamphlet-writer. Not content with the fame of a great orator, you have descended into the arena; you have thrown down the *caestus*, and exhibited yourself as a gladiator of the pen. There is in every human mind a secret spring of action, often imperceptible to the person himself, but at the same time the cause of serious and important events. We have heard of two Roman citizens who shook their country with the calamities of war, because one of them thought proper, at an auction, to outbid the other for a ring that was put up to sale. The latent principle that on various occasions rouses the mind to arduous undertakings, may be called, in the poet's language, *the small pebble that stirs the peaceful lake*; and till that is seen, till we know what is working at the bottom, the true character of the agent

cannot be ascertained. Whatever appearances may be, it is the motive and the end of human actions that must fix their weight and value in the moral scale. Accordingly, my lord, while the people saw you acting in determined opposition to every measure of his Majesty's ministers; while, in your judgment, administration could never be right; when you deprecated a war with France, after your friend Brissot had, by his false and virulent abuse of the English nation, inflamed his countrymen to an open rupture; when you argued, that the laws of Scotland were ill expounded, stretched and violated, by the judges of that country, in the cases of Muir and Palmer, Margarot and Skirving; when you contended that this country had nothing to apprehend from French principles, or from an inundation of *assignats*; when you recommended an inglorious neutrality, and were willing, by sending an ambassador to Paris, to lay the honour of Great Britain at the feet of Robespierre, or whoever should succeed to the tyranny; such undistinguished opposition might with men of a certain description pass for zeal; and zeal, like charity, can cover a multitude of sins. These proceedings, however, were manifestly wrong; and yet the people at large could still give you credit for fair intention, and the end might be allowed to apologize for the means. But your lordship scorned to sub-

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sist on the alms of partial excuse, when you thought yourself entitled to the applause of your country. A spirit of party glittered in your imagination with all the charms of public virtue; you announced your character, and declared open war against all who differ from you and the few friends you have left. You threw off the mask; the motive and end of your measures may now be seen in legible characters. *Eripitur persona, manet res.* Your book, my lord, though obscured in many places by the tumor of language, and the unmerciful length of oratorical periods, is sufficiently clear, as far as it relates to yourself: you have given us a clue, which helps to unravel the whole of your public conduct. Whatever you undertake, whatever the line you think proper to pursue, we know what you think, what you intend, and what you aim at. When you pour out a torrent of invective against his Majesty's ministers, and bestow lavish encomiums on the remnant of a party, how does that employment, which you have carved out for yourself, differ from that of Swift's man at Bartholomew-fair, who stands at the door of a puppet-shew, abusing all that pass by, and roaring with Stentor lungs, "Here! here! the only booth in the fair?"

To place this matter in the clearest light, I shall beg leave to lay before you a short analysis



of your late publication. The principal points, I take it, are as follows:

1. To vindicate your conduct from the system of scandalous invective and disgraceful calumny, which, you are pleased to say, has been carried on against you by men under the influence of government.

2. To retaliate on the publications of the day, and to be even with their foulest abuse, by representing Mr. Pitt in the most odious colours.

3. To accuse and blacken the Duke of Portland, who, you are pleased to say, was so weak as to dread the importation of French principles, and, in a crisis of danger, to know no cause but that of his country.

4. To prove the war unjust, unprovoked, disastrous, and likely to be worse in the closing scenes of this deplorable tragedy.

On these several propositions various doubts have occurred, and they shall be stated in regular order, with all the precision and brevity in my power.

In the first place, I see no objection to your lordship's wish to stand in a fair light with the peers of Scotland. Whether you owe the idea of your late address to Sir Richard Steel's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge, or to Mr. Fox's letter to the electors of Westminster, is not material to inquire. The stile of the former seems to have pleased

pleased you more than the temperate language of the latter. You are pleased to say, that, in your opinion, the peers of Scotland chose you as their representative, because they saw you listed in the Portland party. If so, it may be inferred that they entertained an honourable idea of your leader; and they may reasonably ask you, why did you not follow his banners? Since you chose to desert your colours, of what party are you now? on what constitutional principle do you oppose all the measures of government? Livy describes the state of his country, rent and torn by party-divisions; and the question, he says, was not, who should save his country, but who should govern it; the leading men choosing rather to figure at the head of a faction, than to be out of power. *Distractam, laceramque rempublicam—Magis quorum in manu, quam ut incolumis sit, quæri. Materiei se quam nullius, turbarum ac seditonum, duces esse volunt.* Certain it is, contention for power, and the rage of disappointed ambition, have been for many years the grand motives of opposition. If that is what your lordship calls *party on principle*, the people of England have had the good sense for a long time past to behold it with contempt. They call it a struggle for the loaves and fishes. What the peers of Scotland think of such a combination, your lordship will learn at the next general election. In the mean time, you have represented

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them

them as a set of men capable of acting on narrow principles. Such a picture of the nobility of your country is not much to their honour.

The second, and, as it seems, the main object of your pamphlet, is to deface and mangle the character of Mr. Pitt. *Sui oblegens, in alios criminator*, is the prominent feature in the portrait of one of the worst of men, as drawn by a great historian. The former part of the description cannot be ascribed to your lordship; you have laid yourself sufficiently open; but the talent of railing at others seems to belong to you in an eminent degree. It must be acknowledged, that you have executed the task with all the rancour and malevolence that party-rage is sure to engender. Your assertions, however, are such, that to state them, is to refute them. They all run in the following stile: “ *The folly and frontless audacity of the minister has led the nation into the present scene of accumulated distress:—he has belied and blasphemed the character of the nation:—that there were fomenters of sedition in this country, who carried on a secret correspondence with the republicans of France, was a false alarm:—the possibility of a similar convulsion in this country, was a libellous insinuation.*” I have seen the title of a book, called, “ *a modest Defence of the Proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages.*” The work, I believe, was never published; but, after these assertions, advanced so loudly,



loudly, though void of all foundation, I shall not wonder if I see it finished in a second series of letters to the Scotch nobility. That a conspiracy was formed, the evidence on the late trials at the Old Bailey has proved to a demonstration. A similar conjuncture existed in this country soon after the Restoration, and the great minister of that day exerted himself with zeal and diligence to crush the seeds of sedition. In Lord Clarendon's circular letter to the justices of the peace throughout England, we find the following passage: " His Majesty being well assured, as well  
 " by the confession of some desperate persons  
 " lately apprehended, as by other credible informations, that notwithstanding all his unparalleled lenity and mercy towards all his subjects  
 " for their past offences, how great soever, there  
 " are still amongst them many seditious persons,  
 " who, instead of being sorry for the ill they have  
 " done, are still contriving, by all the means they  
 " can, to involve the kingdom in a new civil  
 " war, and, in order thereunto, have made choice  
 " of a small number, who, under the title of  
 " councils, hold correspondence with the foreign  
 " enemies to this kingdom, and distribute therein  
 " orders to some signal men of their party in the  
 " several counties, who have provided arms, and  
 " listed men to be ready, upon any short warning,  
 " to draw together in a body, by which, with the  
 " help



“ help they promise themselves from abroad, they  
 “ presume to be able to do much mischief; let  
 “ me therefore desire and conjure you, to use  
 “ your utmost endeavours and vigilance to dis-  
 “ cover the machinations of those men, whom  
 “ you know to be ill-affected to the government,  
 “ &c.” 30th March 1665, Clarendon.

The editor of *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons* says, he published Lord Clarendon's letter, as it seems particularly suited to the *situation of affairs in these times of alarm and danger*. The coincidence of circumstances in the two periods is remarkable, and the conduct of the ministers in each juncture seems to be the same. But we do not find that Lord Clarendon drew on himself a torrent of virulent declamation. Was it said that he belied and blasphemed the character of the nation? was his apprehension of a conspiracy called a libellous insinuation? that mode of eloquence was reserved for modern times, and *party on principle*.

Your lordship's third complaint does not appear to be better founded than the former. Your panegyric on party puts one in mind of Erasmus's encomium on folly. Party, in your lordship's opinion, is a source of public blessings, and the extinction of it is a public calamity. To gild the pill, it is called *party on principle*; but what principle, is carefully kept out of sight. It is true, that parties on constitutional principles have of-  
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ten existed in this country. Non-resistance, passive obedience, and indefeasible hereditary right, formed the political creed of the tories; while the whigs maintained the doctrine of resistance, a right to model the succession, exclusion, and the full enjoyment of civil liberty. Their disputes were fierce, and carried on with animosity, till the affairs of the kingdom rose to a crisis. The tories saw the necessity of resisting, when the constitution was in danger of being overturned; and the whigs renounced their republican principles in favour of monarchy. The two parties formed a coalition, and their differences were melted down into a spirit of national union. Since that time, what party on principle has existed in this country? The names of whig and tory were kept up in Queen Anne's time, but the essence was extinguished. The nominal whigs, for their own private views, roared for the continuance of the war, as loudly as those who call themselves whigs at present, clamour for a peace. To pull down a ministry, was the object then as well as now. The acquisition of power has been the object of all the contending parties recorded in history, from the *Barcine faction* at Carthage, the *Ephori* of Sparta, the *tribunes* at Rome, and the several factions, called the *green*, the *blue*, the *red*, the *white*, the *yellow*, under the Emperors, and the *two roses* of York and Lancaster, down to the present opposition.

position. But after all, if the extinction of party is a public calamity, I leave your lordship to walk chief mourner at the funeral, and, if you will, to weep, like another Heraclitus, amidst the ruins : I shall only say, with Juvenal, *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus*.

The present war is the last great point of your lordship's argument ; but your reasoning about *funding* in France, the recall of the English ambassador, the subsequent dismissal of Chauvelin, the letters of Le Brun, communicated to Lord Grenville through the medium of a notary public, and the destruction of our commerce, serves only to shew, that politicians, when, for the sake of a party, they have relinquished the use of reason, are only enabled by the violence of their passions to work themselves the deeper into error and absurdity. The French, it is well known, were the aggressors : Brissot and his friend Kersaint depended on the propagation of their new doctrines. Their *overcloyed country* had vomited forth a crew of assassins to co-operate with their republican friends in England : and were those ruffians not to be thrown back on their hands by an Alien Bill ? But still we are told, the British Cabinet ought to have tried by negotiation to have remained in a neutral state ; but, instead of adopting that prudent measure, our *Machiavilian* minister, for his own private views, is now waging a war of PRINCIPLES. If  
the



the fact be so, it is a war against principles subversive of all order, all government, and all religion. What have the French, at this moment, to oppose to the British arms in the West Indies? nothing but their doctrine of equality and the rights of man diffused to poison the minds of the negroes. Your lordship has advanced another objection: you saw with alarm the practice of one government interfering in the interior arrangements of another. Pray, my lord, who began that practice? The president of the Convention had the folly to avow his hopes of corresponding with a national convention in this country; and that very Convention declared by a decree, that they would be ready to *affiliate* with any nation that wished to change its form of government. Was the opening of the Scheldt an act of interference in the arrangements made by other nations? The French, my lord, are under great obligations to the present opposition: it is not known that they are willing to treat, and yet motion after motion is made to force his Majesty's ministers to sue for peace to a people who are still in a state of anarchy. It is a maxim of Livy, the great Roman historian, that war is preferable to a bad peace: *Miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari*: but the present war, your lordship says, is likely to be attended with some dreadful disaster. For this opinion, two notable reasons are



are assigned : first, because the French have superior skill in ship-building : secondly, because we have seen that the want of salt-petre can be supplied by exertions. Without entering into a discussion of these points, it will be sufficient to say, that some of the best ships in the British navy were built in France ; and as to the second assertion, Lord Howe, Admiral Hotham, Sir John Borlase Warren, Sir Edward Pellew, and other gallant officers have proved, if the French have salt-petre, that they do not know how to use it.

It is now time to close this address, which has run too much into length. Many of the observations which have been submitted to your lordship, will be found more at large in the notes to the translation, which owes its origin to your lordship's famous pamphlet. A review of Catiline's Conspiracy, so strongly resembling, in many particulars, some late transactions in this country, may serve to display, as it were on an illustrious monument, the dreadful calamities with which vice and villany have afflicted other nations, and, by the example, teach the people of this country, by virtue and due respect for the laws of God and man, to avoid the like disasters. With that view I prepared the following work, executed, I fear, with a feeble hand, but certainly with a good intention. That the present age and future generations may continue to be governed by KING,

LORDS,

LORDS, and COMMONS, not by ACQUITTED CULPRITS, CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES, and DELEGATES to a CONVENTION; and that our excellent constitution, in spite of foreign and domestic enemies, may stand unshaken, *Capitoli immobile Saxum!* is the ardent wish of,

24 MAY 65

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient Servant,

GEORGE FREDERIC SYDNEY.

*Bristol, May 5, 1795.*

( 72 )

ERRATA.

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For Oneius, read, Cneius, page 25, line 6.

For fostered, read, festered, p. 41, l. 2.

For their, read, his, p. 47, l. 19.

For forces, read, fasces, p. 51, l. 6.

For motives, read, motive, p. 55, l. 5.

For Umbranus, read, Umbrenus, p. 57, l. 1, and  
wherever the name occurs.

For Persian law, read, Porcian law, p. 76, l. 23,  
and p. 80, l. 16.

For Bouttium, read, Bruttium, p. 59, l. 18.

For natural, read, mutual, p. 167, l. 2.

Dele Court, p. 190, l. 19.

For suit, read, sint, p. 211, last line.

## CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

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**T**O maintain the dignity of human nature is the true ambition of man, and to that end it becomes the duty of all, who aspire to distinguish themselves from the race of inferior animals, to exert their most strenuous efforts, lest they pass their days in silence, like the herds of the field, by nature formed prone to the earth, and governed altogether by the incitements of appetite.

Man is composed of mind and body, and in the exercise of both consists the energy of his nature. The mind is the directing principle; the body is subservient: the former we participate with the gods; the latter we hold in common with the brute creation. Hence the fame acquired by our intellectual powers has ever appeared to me the truest glory, superior to all that can be accomplished by mere corporeal vigour; and since the life which we enjoy is frail and transitory, it should be the endeavour of every man to extend his fame, and leave a lasting memorial of his existence. For what are all the advantages of wealth, and all the graces of form and feature? Mere precarious  
A gifts,



gifts, that soon moulder away. It is virtue, and virtue only, that exalts the human character, and lives in the memory of after-times.

But a just estimate of our mental and bodily faculties was not easily made. Which of them was most conducive to the success of warlike achievements, was in former times a question much agitated, and long undecided. It is certain, however, that, before the opening of a campaign, judgment is required to concert the plan of operations, and vigour in the execution is equally necessary. The powers of man, feeble in their separate functions, demand each others aid, and flourish by mutual assistance.

But in the early ages of royalty (for by that title the first rulers of the world were dignified) the several kings proceeded by different exertions; some chusing to cultivate the faculties of the mind, while others relied altogether on their bodily vigour. In that period men led a blameless life; each individual enjoyed his own, and with that was satisfied.

In process of time, when Cyrus in Asia, and the Spartans and Athenians in Greece, began to extend their conquests over cities and nations; when the lust of dominion was a sufficient motive for the desolation of war, and the acquisition of territory swelled the conqueror's pride; then at length the dangers of the field, and the intricacy of negociations, made it evident that the head,  
and

and not the hand, is the great engine of war. Were the same attention paid to the conduct of civil government; if kings and leaders of armies were willing to display their genius in the cabinet as well as the field, the happiness of society would rest on a more solid foundation, and the world would no longer be a scene of war and wild commotion. Dominion obtained by talents may be supported by the same arts. But in the place of diligence and industry, of justice and moderation, when sloth and pride, ambition and inordinate desires succeed, the manners of the people change with the times, and the power of the state is transferred from the hands of incapacity to the man of superior genius.

The labours of man, whether he chuse to cultivate the land, explore the ocean, or to raise the stately fabric, must be directed by thought and judgment. Agriculture, navigation, and architecture, and, indeed, all the arts, owe their success to the faculties of the mind. And yet in the mass of life what numbers we see addicted to lazy apathy, and the mere gratifications of appetite! uneducated men, unpolished, and illiterate, who pass through life like incurious travellers, without a gleam of reflection. It may be said of them, the organs of bodily sensation are their sole delight, while their minds are deemed no better than a burthen. The life and death of all of that description are to me of equal moment; they live

and die unknown and unlamented ; they pass away, and leave no trace behind. He only, according to my way of thinking, can be said to live, and to answer the ends of his Being, who dedicates his time to some worthy employment, and either distinguishes himself by honourable deeds, or seeks the fame of excellence in the liberal arts.

The business of human life presents a variety of pursuits, and nature, by a secret bias, invites the industry of man to different scenes of action. To serve the commonwealth by generous exertions is the highest glory : eloquence in the same cause deserves its rank of praise. A name may be rendered illustrious in peace as well as war. The men who have performed, and the historians who have recorded noble deeds, have gained the admiration of ages. It is true, however, that the fame of the eminent writer can never equal that of the warrior or the patriot ; but still, to compose the history of great transactions, has ever appeared to me an arduous undertaking, for two reasons ; first, because the stile must be proportioned to the dignity of the subject ; secondly, since it is certain that the reflections of the historian are in danger of suffering by sinister interpretation. If he censures what appears to him to be wrong, his remarks are said to spring from envy and malevolence. Does he describe a great and splendid virtue, and paint exalted merit in its genuine colours ? every reader, in that case, thinks for himself : what he  
fancies



fancies within the reach of his own powers, he is willing to believe, and all beyond that measure he rejects as so much of romantic fiction.

As to myself, I must acknowledge that in my youth I felt, like several others, a strong desire to enter on the career of public offices; but many obstacles occurred to check my progress. Instead of modesty, self-denial, and virtue, I saw bold ambition, bribery, corruption, and rapacity overwhelming all truth and merit. A young mind, like mine, as yet unhackneyed in the vices of the age, revolted from the general depravity; but still aspiring to the honours of the magistracy, I was hurried away by the torrent; and, though my heart condemned the reigning manners, the flame of ambition still continued to burn with unabating ardour. The love of fame was also a powerful incentive, but the jealousy with which my competitors viewed my conduct, brought on a train of evils. At length, when, after various conflicts, I escaped from all the dangers of a painful situation, I resolved in my moments of calm reflection to pass the remainder of my days at a distance from the stage of public business: (*A*) but in that retreat, it was by no means my intention to let the hours of leisure run to waste in listless indolence, and much less to give myself up to the

(*A*) Note 1.

pleasures of the chase, the cares of husbandry, or any such servile employments. On the contrary, recurring to those early studies from which vain ambition had seduced me, I determined to compose a narrative of Roman affairs, and to select for that purpose such events as seemed to be worthy of the notice of posterity; a task, in which I was the more willing to engage, as I could bring to my work a mind uninfluenced by hope or fear, and perfectly free from all party connections. For the present, I have chosen the Conspiracy of Catiline. I shall relate the particulars of that bold attempt with a strict regard to truth, and with as much brevity as the nature of the subject will admit.— The daring spirit with which so black a treason was conceived, and the danger that threatened the commonwealth, will make that transaction for ever memorable. But before I begin my narrative, it will be proper to premise some account of the manners and character of the man.

Lucius Catiline was descended from a family of illustrious rank. The extraordinary vigour of his body was equalled by that of his mind; but his genius was fatally bent on mischief. Intestine discord, murder and massacre, plunder, and civil commotions, were the delight of his youth, and in those scenes of tumult and distraction he exercised his talents in his earliest years. His frame of body was such, that he was patient of hunger,  
cold,

cold, and want of sleep, to a degree almost incredible. His spirit was undaunted, prompt, and enterprising. His talents were pliant, subtle, and various. A perfect master of simulation and dissimulation, he was ready on every occasion to play an artificial character. Eager to seize the property of others, yet prodigal of his own; whatever he desired, he desired with ardour. With a competent share of eloquence, his portion of wisdom was but small. Fond of the grand, the vast, the incredible, his towering spirit aimed at prodigious things, ever forming projects beyond the reach of his power. (B)

Such being the genius of the man, it cannot be matter of wonder, that, with the example of Sylla's usurpation before his eyes, his ambition prompted him to make himself master of the commonwealth. About the measures which he adopted, he felt no solicitude; to be the tyrant of his country by any means, was his ruling passion. By nature ardent, fierce, and impetuous, he was rendered still more so by his ruined fortunes, and the horrors of a goaded conscience: two evils which his repeated crimes augmented every day. The general depravity of the times was an additional motive: he saw the profligate manners of a people hurried on in a wild career of luxury and avarice; two vices in their nature op-

(B) Note 2.



posite, but always sure to produce the most pernicious consequences.

Since I have had occasion to mention the degenerate manners of the age, if I here go back to review the institutions and conduct of our ancestors, the digression will not be deemed improper. It will serve to shew the spirit of the Roman government in peace as well as war; the system of civil and military regulations; the wisdom by which the commonwealth was founded, and in a series of years carried to the highest pitch of grandeur. We shall at the same time see by what fatal steps the government declined, and fell by degrees from its former dignity, till from a great, a flourishing, and a virtuous empire, it is now sunk into the most abject state of vice and profligacy.

The city of Rome, as I collect from history, was founded by the Trojans, who, under the conduct of Æneas, saved themselves from the destruction of their country, and wandered for some time from place to place in quest of a settled habitation. They landed in Italy, and were soon joined by the Aborigines, or natives of the country; a race of men who ran wild in the woods, and lived without any form of government, uncontrouled by laws, independent, free and savage. The two nations agreed to coalesce. When united within the same walls, notwithstanding the diversity of their

their origin, their language, and their manners, it is wonderful how soon they became one undistinguished people. The new state went on increasing in population, extending its territory, and forming plans of law and policy, insomuch, that in a short time it began to assume the appearance of a flourishing colony. From that period, according to the usual course of human affairs, the jealousy of the neighbouring princes beheld the infant state with an evil eye. Contentions ensued, and fierce and bloody battles were fought with mutual animosity. The new settlers had few allies to support their cause. The people in their neighbourhood were struck with terror, and kept aloof from the perils of war. The Romans, in the mean time, neglected nothing; they laid plans for their internal government, and conducted the war with undaunted vigour; they concerted their military operations with judgment; they executed with dispatch; they animated one another; they gave battle to the enemy, and by their courage were able to defend their liberty, their country, and their fellow-citizens. Having at length surmounted all difficulties, they resolved to succour their allies, and by conferring benefits, not by receiving them, they enlarged the circle of their friends, and entered into new alliances. (C)

(C) Note 3.

Attentive

Attentive always to their internal policy, they established a regular form of government, with the title of King ; but it was a government by law ; a limited monarchy. A select number of their wisest men, impaired indeed by years, but still retaining the vigour of their faculties, formed the great council of the state. They were distinguished by the title of Fathers ; a name derived from their advanced age, or perhaps from their paternal care of the commonwealth. In process of time, when the royal dignity, which was at first intended for the protection of the subject, and the interests of the commonwealth, began to swell with pride, and to usurp arbitrary power, unknown to the constitution, the government assumed a different form, and two magistrates were chosen to supply the office of king for the term of one year only. The policy of the measure was, that a mere annual authority would not be sufficient to inflame the mind with pride and insolence. In that juncture, as soon as this revolution was established, men stood forward in the service of their country, with zeal, contending to distinguish themselves by their principles and their talents. In despotic governments, the most eminent citizens are beheld by kings with a jealous eye, while the worst give no kind of umbrage. By bad men virtue is always sure to be dreaded.



Civil liberty being at length fully established at Rome, the rapid progress with which the state went on increasing is almost incredible. The love of glory pervaded every breast. Young men, as soon as they were of age to carry arms, betook themselves to toil and labour in the camp, and in that school of experience acquired the military art. To have burnished arms, and well-trained horses, was their pride. Loose women and convivial riots were unknown. To soldiers formed by constant exercise, no labour was fatiguing; no place was rugged or difficult; the ranks of the enemy struck no terror; undaunted courage towered above all difficulties. They contended among themselves for military honours, and knew no other strife. To assault the foe, to scale the walls, and to be seen in the heat of battle displaying prodigies of valour, was the ambition of all. In such exploits they placed all their happiness; that was their true nobility. The love of fame was their darling passion. They panted for glory, and desired no riches. (D) A competence obtained with honour was sufficient to answer all their wishes.

Were I inclined to relate their military exploits, the opportunity is fair and inviting: I could here enumerate mighty armies defeated by

(D) Note 4

inferior numbers; strong cities besieged, and taken by assault, and other warlike achievements; but the detail would lead to a long digression. It may, however, be proper to observe, that in the course of human affairs, much is to be ascribed to chance, and the circumstances of the times. Hence it happens, that the actions of men are often aggrandized, or thrown into obscurity, as caprice inspires, not as truth directs. The transactions of the Athenians, it must be acknowledged, were great and noble; but whether they did not fall short of the splendour with which they are represented, may be reasonably made a question. The fact is, Athens produced a race of eloquent writers, whose genius gave such a lustre to what they related, that the fame of their countrymen eclipses every other nation. The virtue of the men, who in remote ages figured on the stage of the world, shines forth in the brightest colours, embellished and adorned with all the decorations that lavish imagination could bestow.

The Romans, in the infancy of the state, had none of those advantages. Their ablest men were employed in scenes of action. They exercised the body as well as the mind. To act, rather than speak, was the practice in vogue. To perform great and splendid deeds, instead of being content to relate the exploits of others, was the ambition of the first men in the state.

But

But even that rude, unenlightened age, produced a system of the best and wisest institutions. (*E*) Sound morals prevailed in the camp as well as in the city. A spirit of union pervaded all degrees and ranks; not a symptom of avarice was seen; virtue was established by the inclinations of men, as much as by the laws. Their strife, their animosity, and quarrels, were all directed against the enemy; with their fellow-citizens they knew no dissention; to distinguish themselves by honourable deeds was the only struggle. Magnificent in their sacrifices to the gods, they were rigid œconomists at home. The good faith of friendship was never violated. Their maxims were few and simple; courage in war, and justice in time of peace, were the rules of their conduct, and by those virtues the public good and private happiness were promoted and secured. As a proof of the fact, it may be observed, that in the most active campaign, the soldiers who attacked the enemy without orders from their superior officer, or continued in action after the signal for a retreat, were more frequently punished than the men who deserted their colours, or fled from their post. To secure obedience by rewards, rather than by punishments, was the policy of the civil magistrate. Did the Romans receive an injury? they chose rather to forgive than to meditate revenge.

(*E*) Note 5.

In



In consequence of this wise system, the Republic rose to power and grandeur; flourishing states were reduced to subjection; kings were conquered; Carthage, that formidable rival, was laid in ruins, and by land and sea Rome became the mistress of the world. It was then that fortune began to change the scene—disorder and wild confusion followed. A brave and hardy race of men, who had cheerfully endured toil and fatigue, distress and danger, began to relax into sloth and indolence. Riches, the great object of nations, proved the bane of the Roman people, and extinguished every virtue. Two pernicious passions took possession of the public mind, the love of money, and a lust for power. From that source every evil was derived. Good faith, integrity and honour, gave way to avarice. Pride, and cruelty, and contempt of the gods, succeeded. Corruption and venality destroyed all moral honesty; every thing had its price. The effects of ambition were no less fatal; it was that inordinate passion that taught the arts of deceit and fraud. Men soon began to say one thing and think another; to make friendship or enmity a mere traffic for private interest; and to set the features to a semblance of virtue, while malignity lay lurking at the heart. In the beginning, those two vices sapped their way by slow degrees; they were even checked from time to time by well-intended regulations; but

but spreading at length like an epidemic contagion, they diffused their baneful influence through all orders of men; the manners, with every liberal art, went to ruin; and the government, which was before a model of justice, became the most profligate, oppressive, and tyrannical.

In this decay of public virtue, ambition, and not avarice, was the passion that first took possession of the heart. This, in the order of things, was a natural effect. Ambition is a vice nearly allied to virtue; it implies a love of glory, of power, and pre-eminence, and those are objects that glitter alike in the eyes of the man of integrity and the base and worthless. But the former proceeds in the true road to honour, by fair and upright measures; while the latter, finding in himself no useful talent, depends altogether upon intrigue, and fallacy, and insidious arts. (*F*)

Avarice, on the other hand, aims at an accumulation of riches. It is a passion unknown to generous minds. It may be called a compound of poisonous ingredients. It has power to enervate the body, and depress the faculties of the soul. It is a rage that knows no restraint; always unbounded; never satisfied; in plenty and in want equally craving and rapacious.

At length, when Lucius Sylla, by force of arms, restored the forms of the constitution, it

(*F*) Note 6.

fell out unfortunately, that the issue of his enterprise did not correspond with the intentions which he professed in the outset. Violent commotions followed, and in those scenes of tumult, his soldiers, flushed with conquest, thought of nothing but massacre and depredation. One aspired to have a splendid mansion; another panted for a landed estate; all gave a loose to their fury, and committed the most horrible outrages on their fellow-citizens. There was still another source of corruption: Sylla, to engage to himself the affections of the army which he commanded in Asia, renounced the military system of our ancestors, and allowed his soldiers to riot in every kind of excess and luxury. The consequence was, that the softness of those delightful regions, and the lascivious pleasures of an idle life, extinguished every warlike principle, and melted down the vigour of the army. It was in that voluptuous climate that the Roman soldiers began to indulge in lewd amours; it was there they learned to drink; to admire statues, pictures, sculpture, and graven vases; to seize them in private houses and public repositories; to pillage the temples, and lay violent hands on every thing sacred and profane. A soldiery, thus accustomed to licentiousness, and inflamed with the pride of victory, left nothing to the vanquished. Prosperity is too often apt to debase the best  
and



and noblest mind : that Sylla's men, enervated and debauched by luxury, should use their victory with moderation, was not to be expected.

When avarice became the epidemic passion of the age ; when honour, authority and power, followed in the train of wealth, no wonder that virtue lost her influence. Poverty was deemed ignominious, and innocence was no better than a mask for the latent vices of the heart. In this manner riches engendered luxury, avarice and pride ; and by those vices the minds of the Roman youth were captivated and enslaved. Rapacity and profusion went hand in hand. Regardless of their own property, and eager to seize what belonged to others, all rushed on without shame or remorse. Between things divine and human no distinction was made ; but scorning all restraint and moderation, men gave a loose to their unbridled passions.

In order to form a just idea of ancient frugality and modern luxury, let us first consider the magnificence of our buildings, our superb mansions and villas, in extent and grandeur resembling large cities : it will then be matter of curiosity to compare the temples raised by our ancestors in honour of the gods ; the simplicity that appears in those venerable structures, plainly shews that our forefathers, a religious race of men, considered piety as the ornament best befitting places of worship, in the same manner as true glory was,

in their estimation, the proper decoration of their houses. To those principles we must ascribe their conduct on the day of victory : they took nothing from the vanquished but the power of renewing hostilities. Is that the practice of the present times? Our victorious armies, with an abject spirit unworthy of soldiers, and with a ferocity that shocks humanity, plunder their allies, and rapaciously seize what the commanders of former times left even to their enemies. We seem to think, that to commit acts of oppression is the true use of power.

Need I mention, what to all but eye-witnesses would seem incredible? whole mountains levelled to the valley by the expence and labour of individuals, and even the seas covered with magnificent structures! To such men riches seem to be a burthen: what they might enjoy with credit and advantage to themselves, they seem in eager haste to squander away in idle ostentation.

To these vices, that conspired against the commonwealth, many others may be added, such as prostitution, convivial debauchery, and all kinds of licentious pleasure. The men unsexed themselves, and the women made their persons venal. For the pleasures of the table, sea and land were ransacked; the regular returns of thirst and hunger were anticipated; the hour of sleep was left to caprice and accident; cold was a sensation  
not

not to be endured by delicate habits ; luxury was the business of life, and by that every thing was governed. In this scene of general depravity, the extravagance of youth exhausted whatever was left of their patrimonial stock, and their necessities urged them on to the perpetration of the most flagitious deeds. The mind, habituated to every vice, could not divest itself of passions that had taken root, and, by consequence, all were hurried down the stream of dissipation, eager to grasp whatever could administer to inordinate and wild desires.

In so vast, so populous, and so corrupt a city, which swarmed with hordes of the vile and profligate, Catiline had at his back a band of desperate men, who served as a body-guard near his person. Whoever was thoroughly debauched, and rendered infamous by a long course of adultery ; whoever by his gluttony, by gaming, by his headlong passions, his lawless pleasures, and festival carousals, had ruined his fortune ; whoever was overwhelmed with debts, contracted to pay the forfeit of his crimes ; the whole gang of parricides, sacrilegious wretches, convicts, or men who lived in fear of conviction, together with the perjurer and assassin, who were nourished with the blood of their fellow-citizens ; and, in short, all who felt themselves distracted by their flagitious deeds, their poverty, or the horrors of conscience ; all of this description

B 2

lived



lived with Catiline in friendship and the closest familiarity. If it happened that a person of unblemished character was drawn into the vortex of Catiline and his crew, by the force of daily intercourse, and the baits thrown out to ensnare him, he soon became one of the same stamp, in nothing inferior to the rest.

To allure the youth of Rome to his party, was Catiline's main design : in the early season of life the tender mind, he well knew, was susceptible of the first impression, and consequently easily moulded to his purposes. He watched the temper of his proselytes, and studied their predominant passions. He found concubines for some, and for others horses and dogs. He spared neither his purse nor his honour, in order by any means to increase the number of his followers. It has been said, and the story has gained credit, that the young men who frequented Catiline's house, prostituted their persons in violation of the laws of nature : but that was no more than a suggestion, a mere report, that sprung from various causes, and never rested on any solid proof.

He himself, indeed, had been in his youth guilty of flagitious acts of lewdness ; he deflowered the daughter of an illustrious family, and dishonoured a vestal virgin ; he committed a number of nefarious crimes, in violation of all laws human and divine. To fill the measure of his guilt, he became

came at last violently enamoured of Aurelia Orestilla, a woman in whom no good man saw any thing to praise except her beauty. He had at that time by his first wife a son grown up to man's estate, and that circumstance made Orestilla unwilling to consent to the marriage. To remove the objection, Catiline put his son to death, and by that atrocious deed cleared his house to make way for his impious nuptials. Of this story no doubt can be entertained. To me it seems the grand motive that incited him to the execution of his dark design. A mind like his, guilty and self-condemned, at war with gods and men, lay on the rack of reflection, and knew no rest night or day. Hence his complexion pale and livid; his eyes of a baleful hue; his pace unequal, now slow and solemn, then hurried and precipitate. His air, his mien, his physiognomy, plainly spoke his inward distraction.

As to the young men, whom, as already mentioned, he had seduced to his interest, they were all trained in a course of vice, and fashioned to his will and pleasure. Some were taught to bear false witness; to forge the signature to deeds; to violate all good faith; to squander their fortunes, and bid defiance to every danger. When by shaking off all sense of shame, they had completely blasted their characters, he found new work to exercise their talents, and urge them on to more daring

steps in guilt. If there was no real cause to incite him to acts of violence, he chose in those moments, in order to discipline his troops, to make them lie in ambush, and without provocation murder innocent men. Without constant practice the hand of a ruffian might lose its cunning, or perhaps the better reason was, that the malignity of his nature would not allow him an interval to pause from guilt and horror.

Such were the men on whom Catiline depended for support. He knew that they were all, no less than himself, overwhelmed by a load of debts contracted in every quarter; he saw, moreover, that Sylla's soldiers had dissipated their ill-gotten wealth, and, in their present distress recollecting the sweets of plunder, wished for nothing so much as another civil war. Encouraged by these considerations, he resolved to overturn the government, and make himself master of the commonwealth. The circumstances of the time favoured his design: there was no army in Italy; Pompey was waging war in distant climes; profound tranquillity prevailed in Italy and the provinces; the senate had no object to excite their vigilance, and Catiline had sanguine hopes of obtaining the consular dignity. In this posture of affairs he thought that no time ought to be lost.

Accordingly, on the calends of June, in the consulship of Lucius Cæsar and Caius Figulus, he  
held



held a conference with his principal friends, having first sounded each in a private parley. He exhorted some, he tempted others; he stated the vast resources in his power; the unprepared condition of the state, and the glorious consequences of a sudden revolution. Having explored the sentiments and disposition of all, he called a meeting of such as he knew to be the most distressed and resolute.

Among the conspirators who assembled on the occasion, there were several of senatorian rank; namely, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sylla, (sons of Servius Sylla) Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Portius Læca, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius. Of the equestrian order, the persons that attended were, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, and Caius Cornelius. To these were united great numbers from the colonies and municipal towns, all men of weight and consequence in their different parts of the country.

Besides the foregoing list, there were several of the leading men at Rome, who by dark and occult practices acted a part in the conspiracy. They were not, indeed, pressed by want, or any kind of embarrassment in their affairs, but the hope of rising to power inflamed a spirit of ambition. At

the same time, the major part of the Roman youth, and particularly those of patrician rank, wished well to Catiline's interest: though possessed of the means to support a life of splendour, and even of luxury, they preferred future prospects to present certainty, and wished for war instead of peace. (G)

It was, moreover, reported at the time, and believed by many, that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not a stranger to the conspiracy. For this opinion two reasons were assigned: the first, because Pompey was at the head of a great and powerful army, and Crassus, from motives of ill-will and hatred, would gladly see any man rise on the ruins of his rival. Secondly, because, if a revolution was brought about by Catiline, he had no doubt but he should be able to place himself at the head of the conspirators.

It is worthy of notice, that, before this time, a plot of a similar nature had been formed by a small number of malcontents under the auspices of Catiline. The particulars of that conspiracy deserve a place in history, and shall be here related with the strictest regard to truth.

In the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sylla, the two consuls elect, were accused and punished according to the laws against bribery and corruption. In a short time after, Catiline, convicted

(G) Note 7.

of

of extortion, was declared incapable of being a candidate for the consulship, as it was not then in his power to offer himself within the time prescribed by law. In the same juncture a fierce and turbulent spirit discovered itself in the person of Oneius Piso, a young man of patrician descent, bold and enterprising, ruined in his fortune; and to the depravity of his nature uniting the pressure of his wants, he saw no remedy but that of raising convulsions in the state. With this man, on the nones of December, Catiline and Autronius held a conference, the result of which was, a resolution to murder the two consuls, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, in the capitol, on the calends of January. Catiline and Autronius were to seize the ensigns of consular authority, and, thus invested with power, to dispatch Piso at the head of an army to hold both the Spains in subjection. The design transpired, and was, by consequence, deferred to a further day. On the nones of February they determined to execute the intended massacre, and, not content with the death of the consuls, they devoted to destruction a great part of the senate. But at the time appointed, it happened that Catiline gave the signal with too much precipitation, before a sufficient number of his armed accomplices had invested the senate house. By that rash act the plot was rendered abortive; otherwise, on that day would have



have been executed the most horrible catastrophe that ever disgraced the annals of Rome.

The conspiracy having thus miscarried, Piso, notwithstanding, was soon after sent to the Nether Spain, in the character of quæstor, with the additional authority of proprætor. That commission was procured for him by the influence of Crassus, who was eager to promote the enemy of Pompey. The senate readily concurred in the measure, willing to remove a dangerous citizen to a distant province, and, at the same time, conceiving that Piso might be made a bulwark of the constitution against the overgrown power of Pompey, who filled the minds of men with gloomy apprehensions of innovation and tyranny.

Piso set out to take upon him the government of Spain; but on his march through the provinces was assassinated by a party of Spanish cavalry that followed in his train. The cause of this event cannot now be ascertained; some ascribe it to the pride and arrogance of the man, who ruled the unhappy natives with an iron rod; others will have it that the assassins, heretofore the friends and partizans of Pompey, committed the murder by order of that commander. For this suggestion there is undoubtedly some colour, it being a fact well known, that the people of Spain had never been guilty of so foul a deed; but on the contrary, had shewn a mild and passive spirit under

under the worst oppressions of government. As to myself, I leave the question undecided. Enough has been said concerning the first conspiracy; I now pass to the second.

The conspirators who have been already mentioned, being assembled in convention, Catiline, though he had tampered with them separately, thought it expedient to address them in a body, in order to inflame the minds of all with new ardour, and a spirit of union. For this purpose, he withdrew with the whole party to the most retired part of the house, and, after due precaution to exclude spies and informers, he delivered the following harangue :

“ If I had not abundant reason to rely with  
 “ confidence on your fidelity and undaunted va-  
 “ lour, the opportunity that now presents itself  
 “ would answer no useful end, and the prospect  
 “ which we have of making a radical reform of the  
 “ state, would be vain and fruitless. For myself,  
 “ if I thought I had now to do with weak and ab-  
 “ ject spirits, I should remain inactive, unwilling  
 “ to exchange a safe and sure condition for the  
 “ precarious prospect of future events. But I  
 “ know you all; I know your firmness, your un-  
 “ shaken constancy in the worst of times. En-  
 “ couraged by your fidelity and courage, I have  
 “ planned a great, a glorious enterprise. Our  
 “ hopes and fears are the same; our interests are  
 “ inter-

“ interwoven with each other ; the same good or  
 “ evil awaits us all. We stand or fall together.  
 “ Our desires and aversions are the same ; we have  
 “ but one will ; that is our bond of union ; to  
 “ think alike of the commonwealth is the true  
 “ source of lasting friendship. (*H*)

“ The cause in which we are embarked has  
 “ been explained to you all in separate confer-  
 “ ences. I burn with impatience to strike the  
 “ finishing blow. The ardour that expands my  
 “ bosom, is kindled by your presence to a brighter  
 “ flame ; but let me ask you, what must be our  
 “ condition, if we have not the spirit to redress  
 “ our grievances, and vindicate the rights of men ?  
 “ What, I desire to know, is the true state of the  
 “ commonwealth ? A few imperious demagogues  
 “ have seized all power into their own hands ; (*I*)  
 “ to those usurpers, kings, princes, and tetrachs  
 “ crouch in subjection ; they are tributary to our  
 “ masters ; foreign nations pay taxes to them ;  
 “ and as to us, wretched citizens ! in what light  
 “ have we been considered ? The good, the vir-  
 “ tuous, the noble, and ignoble, are all blended  
 “ in one undistinguished mass ; a mere vulgar  
 “ herd, without interest, without place or prefer-  
 “ ment ; obliged, like slaves, to bend to those,  
 “ who, if a thorough reform took place, and re-  
 “ stored the government to its true principles,

(*H*) Note 8.

(*I*) Note 9.

“ would



“ would shrink and tremble before the majesty of  
 “ the people. At present every thing is engrossed  
 “ by a proud and insolent oligarchy ; power,  
 “ riches, honours, are in the hands of the few, or  
 “ scantily dealt out among their creatures, at their  
 “ will and pleasure. To us they have left nothing  
 “ but disgrace, contempt, and danger, the terror  
 “ of prosecutions, and the pangs of griping po-  
 “ verty. How long, ye brave and gallant men!  
 “ how long will you endure these vile indignities?  
 “ Let us rouse at once ; or, if we must fall, let  
 “ us fall nobly in one brave attempt, rather than  
 “ crawl on to our graves, dragging a miserable  
 “ existence under the scourge of insolent nobles,  
 “ to die at last the victims of a lawless usurpa-  
 “ tion.

“ But the juncture is favourable : success, I  
 “ call men and gods to witness ! success and vic-  
 “ tory are in our hands. We are in the vigour  
 “ of life ; our minds are strong and active ; while,  
 “ on the other hand, our enemies, enervated by  
 “ sloth and luxury, droop under their infirmities,  
 “ and languish in decay. To begin the attack, is  
 “ to conquer ; events will direct and guide our  
 “ future operations.

“ Is there a man, who feels the energy of his  
 “ nature, who in these times can look tamely on,  
 “ and see the senators and the patrician order riot  
 “ in such heaps of wealth, that they are able with  
 “ wild

“ wild profusion to cover the seas with magnifi-  
 “ cent buildings, and annihilate mountains, while  
 “ we are left to pine in want and misery of heart?  
 “ Shall the nobles build their splendid porticos for  
 “ the purpose of making a communication be-  
 “ tween two or more palaces; and shall we in the  
 “ mean time want a cottage for the reception of  
 “ our household gods? Behold your tyrants at  
 “ an immense expence purchasing pictures, sta-  
 “ tues, vases curiously wrought in gold and silver;  
 “ see them with sudden caprice pulling down  
 “ their new-built mansions, erecting others more  
 “ magnificent, and, in short, dissipating their  
 “ riches with lavish extravagance, and yet with all  
 “ their folly, still unable to drain their coffers.  
 “ And what is our case? We have beggary at  
 “ home, a load of debts abroad; desolation be-  
 “ fore our eyes, and not the smallest hope of re-  
 “ lief to assuage our misery. In a word, the  
 “ breath we draw is all that is left us.

“ And shall we not in these circumstances rise  
 “ as one man? Behold, my friends, behold that  
 “ liberty for which you long have panted; behold  
 “ riches, honours, and immortal glory, all within  
 “ your reach: they glitter before your eyes; they  
 “ call you forth to action. These are the bright  
 “ rewards which fortune has in store for valour.  
 “ The situation of affairs, the time, the favourable  
 “ juncture, the dangers that surround you, the  
 “ hard

“ hard hand of poverty, that weighs you down, and  
 “ the splendid spoils of war, that promise joy and  
 “ affluence ; all these are now before you ; they  
 “ are strong incentives, more powerful than all the  
 “ arguments I can urge. Make your own use of  
 “ me ; I am your general, if you will ; or if you  
 “ chuse it, your fellow-soldier. My heart is with  
 “ you ; my powers of body and mind are devoted  
 “ to your service. As matters stand at present,  
 “ I am not without hopes of obtaining the con-  
 “ sulship, and in that high office I propose, in  
 “ conjunction with you, to concert our future  
 “ measures. When I say this, I rely on your ge-  
 “ nerous ardour, persuaded that you are not so  
 “ abject as to pine in slavery, when you have it in  
 “ your power to be the legislators of your coun-  
 “ try.”

This speech was addressed to the passions of men who groaned under every kind of distress, without any means of support, and without a gleam of hope to comfort them. To such minds a convulsion in the state was an inviting prospect, the bright reward of all their labours. The majority, however, desired to be informed upon what terms they were to embark in so bold an enterprise ; what was to be the recompense of their fidelity ; what were their resources, and where they were to look for friends to support their cause ? Catiline promised to cancel all their debts ; a pro-  
scription



scription of the rich, the honours of the magistracy, sacerdotal dignities, plunder, rapine, with all the usual perquisites of war, and whatever the insolence of victory could extort from the vanquished.

He further added, that Piso, who commanded in Spain, and Publius Silius Nucerinus, who was at the head of the army in Mauritania, were both friends to the enterprise. He stated, as a further advantage, that Caius Antonius, a man involved in various difficulties, was a candidate for the consulship, and he wished for nothing so much as to have him for his colleague in that important office. With such a friend, as soon as he succeeded in the election, it was his intention to throw off the mask, and carry his grand design into execution.

He then proceeded to pour forth a torrent of invective against the best men in Rome; he mentioned his most zealous partizans by name, and expatiated in their praise; he addressed each individual; to some he represented their urgent necessities; he talked to others of their lewd intrigues and their voluptuous passions; to the greater number he painted, in the deepest colours, the distresses that surrounded them, and the ruin that hung over their heads ready to crush them. Nor did he omit the consequences of Sylla's victory, with the plunder that enriched the soldiers. Perceiving at length, that by these and such like topics, he had inflamed the minds of all,

all, he requested their support at the approaching election of consuls, and dismissed the assembly.

A report prevailed at that time, and was received by many, that Catiline, at the close of his harangue, proceeded to bind his accomplices by an oath of fidelity, and, to give it the most solemn sanction, sent round the room bowls of human blood mixed with wine. When, after dreadful imprecations, all had swallowed the unnatural beverage, as if it was a libation used in religious sacrifices, he took the opportunity to open the secrets of his heart. He gave the assembly to understand, that by the ceremony he had introduced, his intention was to bind them to each other by the most sacred obligation, in the presence of numbers engaged in a great and glorious enterprise. It was thought, however, by men of reflection, that this anecdote, with many others of a similar nature, was invented by certain politicians, who imagined that they could throw the most odious colours on such of the conspirators as were afterwards put to death, and by that artifice appease the resentment that blazed out against Cicero for the part he acted on that occasion. (K) But a fact of that magnitude requires the strongest proof, and none has come to my knowledge.

(K) Note 10.

Quintus Curius has been mentioned in the list of conspirators ; a man of no mean extraction, but charged with a load of crimes, and on that account degraded by the censor from his senatorian rank. To a bold, pragmatical, and audacious spirit, he united an equal mixture of frivolous vanity ; hence that eternal loquacity that discovered all he knew. He was sure to reveal whatever he heard, and with the same indiscretion he betrayed himself, about his words and actions equally indifferent.

This man had been for a considerable time connected in a criminal commerce with a woman of rank, of the name of Fulvia ; but his fortune being reduced, and, by consequence, his generosity diminished, he began to find that his visits were received with cold reluctance. To restore himself to favour, he assumed a new style and manner. He addressed his mistress in magnificent terms, and promised the wealth of the seas, and mountains of gold. He approached her at times with an air of ferocity, and to force her to his will threatened her life. In a word, forgetting his former manners, he behaved with a fierce and brutal insolence. The cause of this alteration was not long unknown to Fulvia : she saw the commonwealth in danger, and resolved not to conceal a secret of such importance. She thought fit, however, to suppress the name of the person from whom



whom she gained intelligence ; but the rest, with all the particulars of Catiline's plot, she discovered to her acquaintance, in form and circumstance as the same reached her knowledge. The alarm excited by this discovery made such an impression, that from that moment numbers espoused the interest of Cicero, declaring aloud, that of all the candidates he was most worthy of the consular dignity. Before that juncture, the patrician families heard of Cicero's pretensions with indignation. The honour of the highest office in the state, they said, would be impaired and tarnished, if a new man, however distinguished by extraordinary merit, should be able to raise himself to that pre-eminence. But a storm was gathering, and pride and jealousy yielded to the occasion.

The election soon after followed, and in a full assembly of the people, Cicero and Antonius were declared consuls for the year.

This event was a blow that staggered the conspirators ; but Catiline, still fierce and determined, abated nothing from the violence of his temper. He continued his exertions ; he strained every nerve, and provided arms at proper stations throughout Italy. The money which he was able to raise by his own credit, or that of his friends, he conveyed to the city of Fæsulæ, to be there deposited in the hands of Manlius, the man who was

afterwards the first that reared the standard of rebellion.

Even in this situation of his affairs, Catiline, we are told, still had the address to gain over to his cause a number of proselytes, and among them several women, who in the prime of life had gained large sums of money by setting a price on their beauty, but in more advanced years, when the decline of their charms reduced their profits, but left their passions for luxury still in force, they continued to live in the same course of unbounded expence, and consequently contracted a load of debt. By the arts of these women, Catiline flattered himself that he should be able to cause an insurrection of the slaves, and with their assistance he resolved to set fire to the city. He had still a further use to make of his female friends: by their influence he hoped to draw their husbands into the conspiracy, or, if they refused to comply, he had no doubt but he could contrive to get them put to death.

In the number of Catiline's profligate women, Sempronia, a celebrated courtezan, claims particular notice. The bold and masculine spirit with which she committed the most flagitious deeds, had signalized her name. She was of a good extraction; distinguished by her form and beauty, and happy in her husband and her children. Well skilled in Greek and Roman literature, she sung  
and

and danced with more elegance than the modesty of her sex required. She had besides, many of those nameless graces that serve to prompt desire. Virtue and honour were not worthy of her attention. She was prodigal of her money and reputation to such a degree, that which she regarded least you would not be able to say. She loved with such a rage, that without waiting to be solicited, she invited the men to her embraces. Notorious for repeated violations of truth and plighted faith, she was known to forswear her debts, and by perjury to colour a breach of trust. It must be added, that her hands were not free from blood; she was an accomplice in several murders, and, in short, her rage for the pleasures of life conspired with her distressed circumstances to make her a fit instrument in every scene of iniquity. With all these evil qualities, she was not destitute of genius: she had a pleasing vein of wit, and a turn for poetry. She sparkled in company, and by raillery and sprightly talents could enliven conversation. She had the art of passing with wonderful celerity from the most serious to the lightest topics, from a grave and modest strain to the gay, the airy, and the tender. In a word, vivacity and elegant accomplishments were hers in an eminent degree.

Though Catiline had thus prepared his measures, he did not lose sight of the consulship. He declared himself a candidate for the following year,



still conceiving, if he succeeded, that Antonius would be an instrument in his hands. Determined in the mean time not to remain inactive, he made it his business to lay snares for Cicero. The consul was never off his guard, but with consummate address, was able to counteract the schemes of a wily adversary. He had no sooner entered on the consulship, than he took care to secure Fulvia in his interest, and through her he gained, by the force of promises, such an influence on Quintus Curius, who has been already mentioned, that the machinations of Catiline were discovered to him without delay. (*L*) Besides this advantage, Cicero had the precaution to detach Antonius from the conspiracy. He promised by his weight and management to procure for his colleague the administration of an opulent province, and, by that prospect of preferment, engaged him to take no part with the enemies of the commonwealth. (*M*) In the mean time Cicero took care to have, without parade, a number of his friends and clients near at hand to protect his person.

The day on which, according to custom, the consuls elect were declared, by the suffrage of the people, Catiline had the mortification of seeing all his hopes utterly defeated. His various efforts against the life of Cicero were likewise unsuccessful. In that distress, when all his secret

(*L*) Note 11.(*M*) Note 12.

machinations ended in confusion and disgrace, he resolved, without further hesitation, to have recourse to open arms. For that purpose, he ordered Caius Manlius to his post at Fæsulæ, to overawe that part of Etruria; to the territory of Picenum he sent a man of the name of Septimius, a native of the city of Camertes, and at the same time dispatched Caius Julius to guard the passes of Apulia. Several others were commissioned to seize the most advantageous posts in every quarter. He himself remained at Rome, exerting his utmost industry, and concerting plans of mischief. He was still envenomed against Cicero, and never ceased to lay snares for his life. He resolved to set fire to the city, and in every quarter stationed a band of assassins. He went constantly armed, and exhorted his followers to hold themselves in readiness on the first alarm. He never rested day or night; a stranger to repose, unsubdued by toil, and never fatigued by midnight vigils.

Perceiving at length that all his labours were still ineffectual, he directed Portius Læcca to call the chiefs of the conspiracy to a meeting in the dead of night. He there expostulated with his partizans, and after severe reproaches for their want of zeal, he gave them to understand, that he had commissioned Manlius to take upon him the command of an armed force, which was already

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mustered;

mustered; and that various other officers had been dispatched to proper stations, with orders to begin the war. He added, that he wished for nothing so much as to put himself at the head of his army; but Cicero, by his counsels, his activity and vigilance, continued to frustrate all his measures. To cut off the consul was, therefore, a point of the greatest moment.

The assembly remained mute, and covered with consternation, when Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, offered to bear the murderer's poniard; and Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, declared himself ready to join in the same horrible design. They resolved that very night to collect a band of ruffians, and at the dawn of day, under pretence of paying an early visit, to proceed to the consul's house, and dispatch him on the spot, unguarded and unsuspecting. Curius took the alarm; he shuddered at the danger that threatened Cicero's life, and discovered the plot to Fulvia, who took care to give immediate intelligence to the consul. The assassins kept their appointed hour, but gained no admittance: their design proved abortive.

Manlius, in the mean time, exerted himself with his utmost vigour to raise an insurrection in Etruria. The people in that part of the country were ripe for a revolt. Extreme poverty, and the sense of injuries under Sylla's usurpation, exasperated the public mind. The wretched inhabitants



tants had been deprived of their lands, and plundered of their property. Resentment fostered in every breast, and all were loud for a revolution. The country abounded with freebooters, and all of that description the rebel chief collected in a body. At the same time he made it his business to enlist the soldiers whom Sylla had planted in different Colonies; a licentious crew, who had dissipated the spoils of war in riotous expence, and were now reduced to extreme poverty.

Cicero was regularly informed of all that passed, but found himself much embarrassed by the magnitude of the danger; apprehending that it would not be in his power to traverse the machinations of the conspirators by his own private diligence, and not being sufficiently apprized of the numbers and designs of Manlius, he resolved to open the whole affair to the senate. Public report had spread a general alarm, but the particulars were not sufficiently known.

The senate, as was usual in cases of urgent necessity, ordained by a decree, "That the consuls should take care that the state suffered no detriment." By this law, which was founded on ancient policy, and the institutions of our ancestors, the consuls were invested with extraordinary powers. They were authorized to raise new levies, and lead the armies of the republic to the field; by coercion to restrain the citizens of  
Rome,

Rome, and the allies, within due bounds; and to exercise supreme jurisdiction at home as well as in the camp. When no such act has passed, the consular authority is limited by law. The acts of power above-mentioned were never known to be exercised, unless sanctioned by a declaratory law. (*N*)

In the course of a few days after the decree of the Fathers, Lucius Senius, a member of the senate, produced in that assembly a letter, which, he said, was brought to him from the city of Fæsulæ, importing that Manlius, about the sixth of the calends of November, had taken the field at the head of a numerous army. The account was swelled, as is usual on such occasions, with a number of prodigies, and reports from various quarters; with an account of conventions held in different places; that large quantities of arms were provided; and that a servile war was ready to break out in Capua and Apulia.

The senate ordered by a decree, that Quintus Marcius Rex should proceed to Fæsulæ, and Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia, in order to secure those parts of the country. Those two generals had been for some time waiting on the outside of the city walls, in expectation of a triumphal entry, but that honour was withheld from them by the contrivance of artful men, whose practice it

(*N*) Note 13.

was on all occasions, just or unjust, to put every thing up to sale. By the same decree of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Pompeius, and Quintus Metellus Celer, were ordered to repair to their posts ; the former to command at Capua ; the latter at Picenum. Both had it in commission to levy forces with all the expedition that the times required.

The senate, at the same time, passed another decree, “ by which rewards were promised to “ whoever should give information touching the “ conspiracy : if a slave, he was to have his freedom, and one hundred thousand sesterces ; if a “ freeman, double that sum, and a full indemnity.” It was further ordered, that whole families of gladiators should be stationed at Capua, and other municipal towns, in proportion to the strength and importance of the places. Rome was guarded by a night watch, placed at convenient posts throughout the city, under the command of the inferior magistrates.

These preparations spread a general alarm through the city. The face of things was entirely changed. To scenes of joy and festivity, the consequence of a long peace, dismay and terror succeeded. Hurry, bustle and distraction, were seen in every quarter ; no place was safe ; distrust prevailed ; no confidence among neighbours ; a medley of peace and war prevailed ; all were covered



vered with confusion, and each individual formed his idea of the danger according to his doubts and fears. The panic that seized the women was still more alarming. They had till then lived secure under a great and flourishing empire, and now the horror of an approaching war threw them into consternation. In despair they raised their hands to heaven; they wept over their infant children; they ran wild through the streets enquiring for news; they trembled at every report; they forgot their taste for pleasure, their pride and luxury, anxious only for their own lives, and the safety of their country.

Meanwhile Catiline abated nothing from the ferocity of his nature. He persisted in his dark designs, still meditating scenes of destruction. The vigorous measures of the senate were not sufficient to controul a mind like his. He even knew that he was impeached by Lucius Paulus for an offence against the Plautian law, and he still remained unshaken and undaunted. At length, in order to varnish his character, and throw a veil over his traiterous intentions, he had the hardiness to take his seat in the senate. It was on that occasion that the consul, Marcus Tullius Cicero, apprehending, perhaps, some dangerous consequence from the presence of such a man, or else fired with indignation at the audacity of a detected traitor, delivered that noble  
oration,

oration, which he afterwards reduced to writing, and published to the world.

As soon as Cicero closed his speech, Catiline, who went prepared with all his arts of dissimulation, rose with a modest and dejected air, and in a softened tone, implored the Fathers not to give credit to false suggestions against a man descended from an illustrious family. Following the example of his ancestors, he said that on many occasions he had deserved well of the commonwealth; and from his early youth had so regulated his conduct, as to entitle himself to fair and honourable expectations. Was it probable that he, of an illustrious patrician rank, could wish to see the government overturned? or, that Cicero, a new man, lately transplanted from a municipal town, could have the interest of the state more at heart than himself? He went on in a strain of bitter invective against the consul, when he was interrupted by a general clamour. The Fathers with one voice pronounced him an enemy to his country, a traitor, and a parricide. By this treatment Catiline was transported beyond all bounds: he broke out with rage and fury; and "since," he said, "I am thus encompassed by my enemies, and by this outrage driven to the last extremity, the flame which I find kindled round me, shall be extinguished in the general ruin."

Having

Having uttered that furious menace, he rushed out of the senate, and retired to his own house. He then fell into deep reflection: he saw that Cicero was not to be assailed by stratagem, and that the midnight guards prevented his intended conflagration. In the agitation of his mind, he judged that the best step he could take would be to augment his army, and, before the legions could be called into the field, to anticipate the measures of his enemies. Having formed this resolution, he set out in the dead of the night with a few attendants, and made the best of his way to the Manlian camp. He left directions with Lentulus, Cethegus, and such of his accomplices as he knew to be men of prompt and daring resolution, to strengthen their faction by every method in their power; if possible, to cut off the consul; and hold themselves in readiness to lay a scene of blood and massacre; to kindle a general conflagration, and involve the commonwealth in all the horrors of a destructive war. They might rely upon his firmness, and in a short time would find him at the gates of Rome with a powerful army.

During these transactions at Rome, Caius Manlius sent a deputation to Quintus Marcius Rex, with instructions to the following effect:

“ We take this opportunity, general, to inform  
 “ you, and we call gods and men to witness for us!  
 “ that our motive for taking up arms is neither to  
 “ injure



“ injure our country, nor to involve others in the  
 “ calamities of war. To shield ourselves from op-  
 “ pression is all we have in view. Indigent and  
 “ distressed as we are, our country has driven us  
 “ forth like outcasts, all undone and ruined in our  
 “ fortunes by the hard hand of inhuman usurers.  
 “ The protection of the laws, which our ancestors  
 “ enjoyed, has been refused to us : at present the  
 “ man who surrenders his all, is not allowed the  
 “ privilege of personal liberty. The unrelenting  
 “ temper of our insatiable creditors, and the harsh  
 “ decisions of the prætor, have reduced us to the  
 “ lowest depth of sordid misery. In ancient times  
 “ the humanity of government was extended to  
 “ the distresses of the people ; and, within our  
 “ own memory, the pressure of debts was so great,  
 “ that, with the consent of all good men, the cre-  
 “ ditor was obliged to receive a composition in  
 “ full of their demands. We learn from history,  
 “ that the Roman people, in order to curb the  
 “ overbearing spirit of the magistrates, and to be  
 “ governed by their own laws, seceded in open  
 “ revolt from the authority of the senate.

“ Our enterprise has no such object in view :  
 “ we have neither ambition nor avarice, the two  
 “ grand springs of human actions, the constant  
 “ cause of all the strife, and all the wars that  
 “ disturb the world. We demand a reform of  
 “ the laws ; we stand for the rights of man, and  
 “ equal

“ equal liberty ; that liberty, which no good man  
 “ will resign but with life itself. We conjure  
 “ you and the senate to take our case into con-  
 “ sideration ; we claim the protection of the laws,  
 “ which the prætorian tribunals have wrested  
 “ from us. Deliver us from the sad necessity,  
 “ in which the brave and honest will only think  
 “ how they may sell their lives at the dearest  
 “ rate, and in their fall secure a great and just  
 “ revenge.” (O)

Quintus Marcius returned an answer in a calm  
 laconic stile : he told them, “ if they expected  
 “ any favour from the senate, they must lay down  
 “ their arms, and proceed to Rome, there to  
 “ present their petition in a suppliant stile. They  
 “ then would find, that humanity and modera-  
 “ tion were the attributes of the Fathers, and the  
 “ people of Rome, insomuch, that of all who  
 “ sued to them for protection, no one ever sued  
 “ in vain.”

Catiline, who was at that time on his march to  
 the camp, sent dispatches to several men of con-  
 sular rank, and to others distinguished by their  
 worth and honour. The substance of his letters  
 was, that “ being unjustly charged with con-  
 “ structive (P) crimes, and unable to cope with  
 “ a powerful faction, he yielded to the impend-

(O) Note 14.

(P) Note 15.

“ ing storm, and chose a voluntary exile at  
 “ Marseilles. A strained and fabricated treason  
 “ was laid to his charge, but, though he was  
 “ conscious of his innocence, he chose that re-  
 “ treat, that he might not, by a public contest  
 “ with his enemies, be the unhappy cause of  
 “ tumult and seditious insurrections.”

It happened, however, that Quintus Catulus was able to produce a letter, which he averred to have been sent to him by Catiline. The tenor of it was very different from what has been stated. Catulus read it to the Fathers. The following is an authentic copy :

LUCIUS CATILINE TO QUINTUS CATULUS,  
 GREETING.

“ The firm and constant friendship which I  
 “ have experienced from you on many trying oc-  
 “ casions, and which I must ever remember with  
 “ gratitude, encourages me to address you in the  
 “ present juncture. It is not my intention to  
 “ trouble you with a defence of the part I am  
 “ now to act : conscious of no guilt, I will not  
 “ waste the time in an unnecessary proof of my  
 “ innocence ; a fair state of the facts will be suf-  
 “ ficient, and I have no doubt but you will be  
 “ convinced of the truth.

“ Oppressed by my enemies, and pursued by  
 “ inveterate calumny ; not suffered to reap the  
 “ fruit of my labours and unwearied industry ;

D

“ and,



“ and, moreover, deprived of the advantages and  
 “ honours annexed to my rank, I was naturally  
 “ led upon this, as upon other occasions, to  
 “ stand forth in the cause of my fellow-citi-  
 “ zens. (Q) The debts which I have incurred  
 “ must not be reckoned among the motives that  
 “ direct my conduct. I have effects and posses-  
 “ sions sufficient to answer all the obligations  
 “ contracted on my own account ; and as to the  
 “ engagements in which I am bound for others,  
 “ Aurelia Orestilla is willing, with her own and  
 “ her daughter’s fortunes, to discharge all de-  
 “ mands.

“ Would you know the motive that rouses  
 “ me to action ? I saw men of no consideration  
 “ rising to honours, while I was proscribed, dis-  
 “ graced, and rejected, for unjust and groundless  
 “ suspicions. In order, therefore, to preserve the  
 “ poor remains of honour which my enemies have  
 “ left me, I resolved to pursue such measures as  
 “ my present situation will justify.

“ I could add more on this subject ; but I learn  
 “ this very moment, that violent measures are to  
 “ be pursued against me. I recommend Ores-  
 “ tilla to your protection : I leave her in your  
 “ care. Shield her from oppression ; I conjure  
 “ you by the tender regard you have for your  
 “ own children. Farewell.”

(Q) Note 16.

Having

Having dispatched this letter, Catiline passed a few days with Caius Flaminius in the territory of Reaté, and during that time distributed arms to the insurgents whom he had allured to his party. From that place he proceeded with the forces, and all the pomp of a consular general, to join Manlius in his camp.

That step being known at Rome, the senate declared Catiline and Manlius public enemies, and by a decree promised a free pardon to such of the rebels as were not condemned for capital crimes, provided they laid down their arms within a time limited. Power was also given to the consuls to muster new levies; Antonius had orders to proceed at the head of his army in quest of Catiline, and the good order of the city was committed to the vigilance of Cicero.

We are now at the point of time when the commonwealth was reduced to the most humiliating condition. She had carried her victorious arms from the rising to the setting sun; the city of Rome flourished in peace and affluence, the two great comforts of human life; and yet, in that very period, she harboured in her bosom a crew of desperate incendiaries. Men determined with fatal obstinacy to overwhelm themselves and their country in one promiscuous ruin. It is worthy of notice, that after two decrees, one offering a reward to informers, and the other a free pardon

to such as revolted, not a man was found to make a discovery, nor was there a single deserter from the enemy. Such was the malignity of the times ; it spread like a contagion, and envenomed the minds of men against their country.

Nor was this dangerous spirit confined to the conspirators and their accomplices ; it pervaded the lower class of citizens ; and the rabble, with their usual levity, wished for a convulsion in the state. Nor is this to be received as matter of wonder : it is natural to men who have no means of subsistence, to view the opulent with an eye of envy ; lavish of their encomiums on the leaders of faction, they traduce the good and worthy with envenomed rancour ; they hate the established system, and pant for innovation ; they are weary of their own condition, and hope to find relief in the distractions of their country. Tumult and sedition are to such men the season of plenty, and, in all events, poverty has nothing at stake. (*R*)

There were, besides, various causes that conspired in that juncture to inflame the popular discontent. In the first place, all who had signalized themselves by their crimes ; who by profusion had dissipated their substance ; who were forced by their enormities to fly their country ; and, in short, all the loose and abandoned, crowded in one general conflux to the city of Rome, as to

(*R*) Note 17.

the



the centre of corruption. To these were added the whole tribe that remembered Sylla's victory, and could name the common soldiers who rose to the dignity of senators, with a list of others who acquired immoderate riches, and lived in all the splendour of royal magnificence. All these were ready to take up arms, expecting to enrich themselves with the plunder of a civil war.

Besides these pests of society, there was at Rome a number of young men, who had been used in the country to earn a livelihood by their daily labour, but being attracted to the city by the frequency of public and private largesses, they preferred an idle life to the unprofitable labours of the field. These, and all of their stamp, hoped to find their account in public commotions. That men like these, reduced to indigence, and void of morals, yet flushed with hopes of a reform in the senate, should make the interest of the state subservient to their own private views, (S) was a natural consequence.

There was still another party, composed of those whose fathers had been ruined by Sylla's proscriptions, and lost the rights of citizens. Their descendants hoped to find in the calamities of war a redress of grievances, and wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to assert their rights.

(S) Note 18.

The city, moreover, was divided into factions, and they who did not take part with the senate, could not bear to see their country in a more flourishing condition than themselves. Dissentions between the populace and the senate had been the old inveterate canker of the commonwealth, subdued, indeed, for a considerable time; but, after an interval of many years, revived with all the violence of former rancour.

The renewal of this mischief may be traced to the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Under their administration, the tribunes of the people recovered their ancient rights, and all the powers annexed to their office. That magistracy, in a short time, fell to the lot of young men of fierce and turbulent dispositions, who began to disturb the proceedings of the senate, and by their contentions, to inflame the people against the constituted authority of the state. To strengthen their influence, they distributed largesses with unbounded generosity, and by adding liberal promises, seduced the multitude into a league against the constitution. The tribunes were elate with success, they triumphed over all opposition, and were the first men in the state. The nobles exerted themselves to stem the torrent, with pretended zeal for the dignity of the senate, but in fact to promote their own grandeur. The truth is, the men who in those times appeared on the  
stage

stage of public business, had the address to gloss their designs with specious colours, (*T*) some pretending to be the friends of the people; others to maintain the rights of the senate. The public good was the ostensible motives of every faction, while ambition and the love of power were the secret springs that set the whole in motion. The contention between the parties was carried on with animosity; justice and moderation were discarded, and the side that occasionally prevailed, exulted with all the pride and insolence of victory.

At length, when Pompey was sent to command against the Pyrates, and afterwards to conduct the Mithridatic war, the popular party was no longer able to make head against the nobles. The reins of government were seized by a few leading men, who engrossed the honours of the magistracy, the administration of provinces, and preferment of every kind. Superior to their fellow-citizens, and above controul, they lived in splendour and security, by the terror of prosecutions restraining all who presumed to take a part in public business, and, by consequence, leaving the people without a leader. In process of time, when the scene of affairs was changed, and men began to think a revolution not impracticable, the old dissention broke out with redoubled violence. The discontents of the populace rose to such a pitch, that if

(*T*) Note 19.



Catiline gained the first victory, or even left the fortune of the day undecided, the commonwealth would have been reduced to the brink of danger. The war would have continued with alternate vicissitudes, without a decisive blow to end the conflict, till both sides, enfeebled and exhausted by repeated losses, would have fallen an easy prey to some ambitious chief who stood prepared in such a crisis to usurp the supreme power, to the utter ruin of public liberty. (U)

There were numbers in the city of Rome, who for some time stood aloof from the conspiracy, but at last threw aside the mask, when they saw the standard of rebellion actually raised, and went over to Catiline. Among these was Aulus Fulvius, the son of a senator. He was taken on his way to the camp, and conveyed back to Rome, where he suffered death by order of his father.

Lentulus, in the mean time, attentive to the instructions left by Catiline, made it his business, either by his own management, or the address of his agents, to engage in his faction all who by their dissolute life, or the ruin of their affairs, were fit to be employed in the grand undertaking. The citizens of Rome were not the only objects of his choice. He enlisted foreigners of every nation, whom he found capable of carrying arms. With this view, he employed a man of the name

(U) Note 20.

of

of Publius Umbranus to tamper with the deputies from the state of the Allobrogians, and, if possible, to draw them into a league with Cati-line. In this negotiation he had no doubt of success, when he considered that the Allobrogian state was encumbered with a vast load of public debt, and that the inhabitants groaned under the same distress. The turbulent and warlike genius of the people, which resembled the rest of Gaul, he judged would be an additional motive to make the ambassadors enter into the plot. Umbranus had been a trader in Gaul, and in the course of his transactions, had become acquainted with the principal men in various parts of that nation, and therefore, without hesitation, undertook the business. He met the Allobrogians in the forum, and immediately entered into conversation. He inquired about the situation of their affairs, and seeming to be much affected by their misfortunes, desired to know what prospect they had of an end of all their difficulties. The deputies stated their sufferings under the magistrates sent to govern them, and, in bitterness of heart, accused the senate of being deaf to their remonstrances. They had no hopes of relief. Death, they said, and death only, could end their misery. Umbranus made answer, " If you find a spirit within  
" you, and are determined to act like men, I can  
" shew you the way to redress your grievances."

Roused

Roused by those animating words, the Allobrogians solicited the friendship of Umbranus, declaring that there was no enterprise so bold and arduous, that they were not ready to undertake, provided it tended to deliver their country from the pressure of its debts. Umbranus led them to the house of Decius Brutus, who at that time was absent from Rome. The place was every way fit for a dark transaction: it bordered on the forum, and Sempronia, who was privy to the conspiracy, took care to accommodate her friends with an apartment proper for so deep a consultation. To give importance and solemnity to the meeting, Umbranus called in the assistance of Gabinius, and in his presence laid open the secrets of the plot. He mentioned the principal conspirators by name, and, to animate the deputies, added a number of others, all of eminent rank, but no way implicated in the business. The deputies promised their assistance, and Umbranus adjourned the meeting.

The Allobrogians retired to their lodgings, and there began to waver. Having weighed all circumstances, they were in doubt what part to act. They felt the oppression of their debts; with the spirit of their country they were fond of war, and the advantages of victory dazzled their imaginations. On the other hand, they saw superior strength on the side of the senate, a regular plan  
of



of well concerted councils, and in the place of deceitful promises a bright and certain recompense. They continued for some time fluctuating between hope and fear, when the good genius of the commonwealth gained the ascendant. They applied to Quintus Fabius Sanga, the patron of their country, and gave him a detail of all that came to their knowledge. The whole was communicated to Cicero. That minister directed the deputies to act the part of men firm and ardent in the cause of rebellion. He desired that they might hold frequent interviews with the conspirators, and, by amusing them with a shew of zeal, gain their confidence; and, by that artifice, obtain full proof against them all. (*W*)

During these transactions, violent commotions broke out in the Nether and Ulterior Gaul, and likewise in the territory of Picenum, in Bouttium, and Apulia. The agents whom Catiline had sent into those parts, conducted themselves with headlong violence, and like frantic men threw every thing into confusion. They held nocturnal meetings; they ordered arms to be distributed, and by hurry and constant bustle spread a general alarm, when, in fact, there was no real danger. The prætor, Quintus Metellus Celer, seized a number of the most active incendiaries, and loaded them with irons. The same step was taken by Caius

(*W*) Note 21.

Muræna,

Muræna, who commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, in the character of lieutenant-general.

Meanwhile Lentulus, in conjunction with the chiefs that remained at Rome, concluding that the party was in sufficient force, came to a resolution, that, as soon as Catiline entered the territory of Fæsulæ at the head of his army, Lucius Bestia, one of the tribunes, should call an assembly of the people, and after declaiming with virulence against Cicero, should arraign that most excellent consul as the author and sole cause of an unprovoked and dangerous war. (X) This invective was to be a signal to the conspirators, as soon as night came on, to begin their work, and execute what had been committed to their charge.

The parts in this horrible tragedy were cast as follows: Statilius and Gabinius, with a crew of their accomplices, were to set fire to the city in twelve convenient quarters. In the hurry of a general conflagration, they concluded that it would not be difficult to reach the consul with an assassin's dagger, with many others of rank, who were devoted to destruction. The attack on Cicero's house was committed to Cethegus: he was to force an entrance, and imbrue his hands in the blood of the consul. Others in different parts of the city were to add to the horrors of the scene. There was besides a number of young men, the sons of

(X) Note 22.

illustrious

illustrious families, who had it in charge to turn parricides, and cut the throats of their fathers. The incendiaries, as soon as they carried fire and sword through all quarters of the city, were to rush forth at once, and rally round the standard in Catiline's camp.

While these measures were in agitation, Cethegus shewed the most violent impatience. He complained that he was embarked with men who gave no proofs of zeal and ardour in the cause. By their cold delay, he said, the best opportunities were lost. In a daring enterprise the surest way is to act, and not linger in debate. For his part, he was ready, at the head of a few brave and gallant men, to unsheath the sword, and make the senate house a theatre of blood. Cethegus was by nature fierce and determined; a bold and active hand in the hour of danger. Dispatch, and not deliberation, was his favourite measure.

In this state of affairs, the Allobrogians, as directed by Cicero, contrived, through the management of Gabinius, to have an interview with the chiefs of the conspiracy. At that meeting, Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius being present, the deputies demanded a solemn obligation, under the sanction of an oath, duly signed and sealed, that they might carry it with them as an authentic document to their native city. Without such a deed, they said it would not be  
in



in their power to engage their countrymen in a project of that importance. The three conspirators first mentioned above, having no suspicion of a snare, agreed to the proposals. (Y) Cassius thought it sufficient to assure the Gallic agents, that in a short time he should be present in person among their countrymen; and in fact he departed from Rome while the deputies still remained. Lentulus thought it of moment that the treaty with the Allobrogians should be ratified by new obligations between them and Catiline, and, with that intent, he appointed Titus Vulturcius, a man born at Crotona, to accompany the Allobrogian deputies to the rebel army. By the same messenger he sent a letter to Catiline, of which the following is a copy :

“ You will learn from the bearer, who it is that  
 “ now writes to you. Remember the danger  
 “ you have incurred, and never forget what is  
 “ worthy of a man. Neglect nothing that the  
 “ crisis of your affairs demands; avail yourself of  
 “ all that can be enlisted, and do not reject the  
 “ assistance of the meanest.”

With this letter he sent a verbal message, the substance of which was, that since Catiline was declared a public enemy, there could be no good reason for not causing an insurrection of the slaves. All things, he added, were in readiness

at Rome, according to Catiline's own directions, and it would now behove him to urge on by rapid marches to the walls of Rome.

Matters being thus arranged, and the night fixed for the departure of the Allobrogian deputies, Cicero, to whom they had imparted every circumstance, ordered the prætors, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomptinus, to place themselves in ambush near the Milvian bridge, in order to seize the whole party. He explained to the two prætors the nature and cause of their commission, and left them to act as exigencies might require. In conformity to those orders, a military guard, without noise or parade, invested the bridge. As soon as the Allobrogians, with Volturcius, their guide, arrived at the place, a shout was set up on both sides. The Gallic agents, aware of the scheme, surrendered to the prætors without hesitation. Volturcius stood on his defence, exhorting his followers, and for some time determined to cut his way sword in hand; but perceiving himself deserted by his party, he endeavoured to make terms with Pomptinus, to whom he was well known; but finding that his supplications had no effect, and thinking his life in danger, he surrendered at discretion.

Intelligence was immediately conveyed to Cicero. The consul heard the detail with transports of joy, but a joy mingled with anxiety.

To

To see the conspiracy detected by the clearest evidence, and the commonwealth rescued from destruction, was undoubtedly matter of triumph ; but how to proceed against so many of the first eminence, who had proved themselves traitors to their country, was a consideration big with doubt and perplexity. If he acted with all the rigour due to such atrocious crimes, he plainly saw a storm of the bitterest resentment already gathering over his head ; and, on the other hand, should guilt of that magnitude be treated with lenity, it were on his part nothing short of conniving at the public ruin. Having weighed all circumstances, he summoned up his resolution, and ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, to be brought before him. At the same time he sent for Ceparius of Terracina, who was preparing to set out with intent to raise an insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. The four who have been first mentioned, appeared without delay, but it happened that Ceparius was not to be found at his own house. In his walk he heard that the conspiracy was brought to light, and thereupon made his escape.

Lentulus being at that time invested with the character of prætor, Cicero took him by the hand, and walked with him to the Temple of Concord, where he had convened the senate. The other conspirators were conducted under a strong guard.

A full



A full meeting of the Fathers being assembled, the consul ordered Volturcius and the Allobrogians to be called in. Flaccus, the prætor, attended with the packet of letters which had been delivered to him at the Milvian bridge.

Volturcius was interrogated concerning his intended journey, the papers in his possession, the nature of his undertaking, and the motives on which he acted. His answers were evasive. He endeavoured, under various pretences, to cloak his design, disclaiming all knowledge of the conspiracy. Being told, that under the sanction of the public faith he might speak with impunity, he gave an account of the whole, in regular order, exactly as things happened. It was, he said, but a few days since he was apprized of the conspiracy: Gabinius and Ceparius were the men that seduced him: he knew no more of the general plan than the Allobrogian deputies, except one particular circumstance: he had been frequently told by Gabinius, that Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, and Lucius Vargunteius, with a number of others, were involved in the same guilt.

The Gallic deputies confirmed the evidence of Volturcius. Lentulus pleaded ignorance of the whole, but his letters were evidence against him; and by the testimony of the ambassadors it appeared, that in common discourse his constant topic was a prediction in the Sibylline books, “ by

“ which the sovereignty of Rome was promised to  
 “ three of the name of Cornelius; that the pro-  
 “ phecy was verified in the persons of Cinna and  
 “ Sylla, and now remained to be fulfilled in him-  
 “ self, the third predestined master of Rome.”  
 It was moreover proved, that Lentulus was in the  
 habit of boasting, “ that the current year was the  
 “ twentieth from the burning of the capitol, and,  
 “ according to the prediction of soothsayers and  
 “ augurs, would be remarkable for a disastrous  
 “ civil war.”

The letters already mentioned were produced, and the several seals being acknowledged by the prisoners, were read to the senate. The Fathers ordered by a decree, that Lentulus should abdicate his office of prætor, and thereupon that he and his associates should be detained in the custody of persons appointed for the purpose. Lentulus was consigned to the care of Publius Lentulus Spinter, one of the ædiles; Cethegus was committed to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius to Caius Cæsar; Gabinius to Marcus Crassus; and Ceparius, who had been taken on the road and brought back to Rome, to the custody of Cneius Terentius, of senatorian rank.

The whole of this scene of iniquity being thus fully laid open, the common people, who with their usual love of innovation had till that time pampered their hopes of a civil war, began to act  
 with

with different sentiments. They talked of Catiline and his black design with execration; they extolled Cicero to the skies, they considered their own case as an escape from the tyranny of a desperate faction; they celebrated the glorious event with unbounded demonstrations of joy. According to their way of reasoning, a war of civil dissention would afford the sweets of plunder, but would not end in public ruin; but a general conflagration was horrible in its nature, barbarous in the project, and utterly destructive to themselves, who had nothing but their common utensils, and the cloaths on their backs.

On the following day one Lucius Tarquinius was led to the bar of the senate. This man was apprehended on his way to Catiline's army, and brought in custody to Rome. He offered to make important discoveries, if he might speak with safety under the promise of a public pardon. Being satisfied on this point by the consul, he gave an account in effect the same as Volturcius had done, stating the intended fire of the city, the massacre of the worthiest citizens, and the route by which the rebels were to advance to Rome. He added, that " he was dispatched by Crassus to inform  
 " Catiline, that so far from being discouraged by  
 " the imprisonment of Lentulus and Cethegus,  
 " with the other conspirators, he ought to expedite his march towards Rome, in order to revive



“ the courage of his party, and rescue his friends  
 “ from confinement.”

As soon as the informer mentioned the name of Crassus, a man of the first consideration in the state, distinguished by his illustrious birth, his vast riches, and his power and influence, a murmur of disapprobation was heard from all quarters of the senate. Numbers pronounced the charge altogether incredible ; others were of opinion that it was not destitute of foundation, but that in such a crisis it would be more prudent to temporize, than to provoke the resentment of a great and powerful citizen. The majority of the Fathers had their private reasons for taking part with Crassus : they were under pecuniary obligations, and did not hesitate to pronounce the charge a false and malicious calumny. Upon that point they desired that the question might be put. Cicero collected the voices, and the Fathers decreed unanimously, that “ the information was  
 “ false and groundless, and that Tarquinius  
 “ should stand committed, never to be heard  
 “ again, unless he first discovered the person by  
 “ whose procurement he had fabricated so vile a  
 “ falsehood.”

There was at that time a current opinion, that Publius Autronius was the author of the charge, under an idea that Crassus, finding himself implicated

cated in the plot, would be a shield to protect the rest of the conspirators.

Others would have it, that Cicero suborned the witness, apprehending that Crassus might be induced, according to his custom, to undertake the defence of pernicious citizens. By involving him in the general guilt, it was supposed that his voice would be silenced. Since that time, Crassus has averred in my hearing, that he was indebted to Cicero for that dark imputation.

It must be acknowledged, that Quintus Catulus and Caius Piso were not able by their weight and influence, by entreaty, or any other inducement, to prevail on Cicero to suffer a cloud of suspicion to be thrown on Julius Cæsar by the Allobrogians, or any other witness. Those two great men were, in that juncture, the avowed enemies of Cæsar; the former, because on his return from Cisalpine Gaul, in a prosecution carried on against him for being corrupted by a bribe to pass judgment of death upon a native of the country beyond the Po, Cæsar took a decided part in that affair, and obtained judgment against him. The mind of Catulus was embittered by his disappointment when he stood candidate for the office of high pontiff. Cæsar opposed his election; and that so young a man should enter into competitions, and be able to defeat an ancient citizen in the evening of his days, when he had almost closed the

career of public honours, was a reflection that inflamed him with resentment. Their time for framing an accusation against Cæsar was not ill chosen: Cæsar, by private liberality, and a profusion of largesses, had contracted an immense load of debt, and by that circumstance gave his enemies a fair opportunity.

Cicero, however, refused to enter into their designs; but still Piso and Catulus, though they found their solicitations ineffectual, persisted in their malevolent purpose. They caballed with individuals, framing from their own invention the foulest imputations, and, to give them colour, pretending that they had all their intelligence from Volturcius and the Allobrogians. By these artifices they excited the popular odium, and made Cæsar so obnoxious, that a band of Roman knights, who had ranged themselves under arms to guard the avenues of the Temple of Concord, drew their swords, and brandished them in a menacing manner, as Cæsar went forth from the senate. By this act of violence the knights declared their detestation of the conspiracy, or, perhaps, acted with a nobler motive, to announce their ardour in the cause of their country.

The Fathers, finding ample reason to be satisfied with the testimony of the Allobrogians and Volturcius, proceeded to consider of the recompense due to them for their services. In the mean-



mean-time, the freedmen and clients of Lentulus were busy in various parts of the city, with a design to collect a party of slaves and labouring men, in order to rescue their patron out of custody. Others went about the streets in quest of certain seditious declaimers, on all occasions ready incendiaries for hire, and consequently well practised in the arts of raising popular tumults. Cethegus also had his emissaries, who endeavoured to stir up his domestic slaves and freedmen, an abandoned crew, ever ready for any desperate mischief. They were to proceed in a body, and sword in hand set their master at liberty.

The consul, informed of all that was in agitation, disposed his guards at proper stations, as the exigence seemed to require, and without delay convened the senate. To that assembly he opened the case of the prisoners. They had been all adjudged traitors and public enemies; he now moved for a decree, to determine finally what ought to be done with men in their situation. The question being put, Decius Junius Silanus, at that time consul elect, was the first in order to deliver his opinion. His advice was, that, not only those in actual custody, but also Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbranus, and Quintus Annius, as soon as taken, should all be condemned to suffer death. Julius Cæsar opposed that proposition: his speech on the occasion made such an impres-

sion on Silanus, that his resolution failed, and he went over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for strengthening the guard, and adjourning the debate for further consideration. Cæsar in his turn, when called upon by the consul, spoke in effect as follows :

“ In all debates, conscript Fathers, when the  
 “ matter under deliberation is in its nature doubt-  
 “ ful, it is the duty of every senator to bring to  
 “ the question a mind free from animosity and  
 “ friendship ; from anger and compassion. When  
 “ those emotions prevail, the understanding is  
 “ clouded, and truth is scarce perceived. To be  
 “ passionate and just at the same time, is not in  
 “ the power of man. Reason, when unbiassed,  
 “ and left to act with freedom, answers all our  
 “ purposes : when passion gains the ascendant,  
 “ reason is fatigued, and judgment lends no assist-  
 “ ance.

“ Were it necessary, conscript Fathers, to cite  
 “ examples from history, of kings and nations hur-  
 “ ried away by resentment, or commiseration, an  
 “ ample field lies before me : but I chuse rather  
 “ to call to mind the conduct of our ancestors,  
 “ who, in various instances, acted a dispassionate  
 “ part, and resolved with wisdom.

“ In the Macedonian war, which was carried  
 “ on against king Perses, the city of Rhodes,  
 “ which had grown under the protection of Rome,  
 “ and

“ and was at that time rich and powerful, acted  
 “ towards us with perfidy and ingratitude. But  
 “ at the close of the war, when the conduct of the  
 “ Rhodians was taken into consideration, our an-  
 “ cestors, unwilling to have it said that they had  
 “ waged a war of avarice, and not with a nobler  
 “ motive to vindicate their rights, generously  
 “ granted an amnesty to that misguided people.  
 “ Again, in all our Punic wars, though the Car-  
 “ thaginians, in the season of profound peace, and,  
 “ at other times, during a suspension of arms, had  
 “ been guilty of the most violent breach of the  
 “ laws of nations, our ancestors, though many op-  
 “ portunities offered, scorned to act with a spirit  
 “ of retaliation. They considered what was wor-  
 “ thy of the Roman name, not the vengeance due  
 “ to a barbarous enemy.

“ In the case now before us, let it be your wis-  
 “ dom, conscript Fathers, not to suffer the crimes  
 “ of Lentulus and his accomplices to hurry you  
 “ beyond the bounds of moderation. Indigna-  
 “ tion may operate on your minds, but a due sense  
 “ of your own dignity, I trust, will preponderate.  
 “ My opinion is this: if you know of any pains  
 “ and penalties adequate to the guilt of the con-  
 “ spirators, pronounce your judgment; I have no  
 “ objection. If you think death a sufficient pu-  
 “ nishment, I concur with Silanus: but if the  
 “ guilt of the prisoners exceeds all forms of vin-  
 “ dictive



“ dictive justice, we should rest contented with  
 “ the laws known to the constitution.

“ The senators who have gone before me, ex-  
 “ hausted the colours of rhetoric, and in a pathe-  
 “ tic stile have painted forth the miseries of their  
 “ country. They have displayed the horrors of  
 “ war, and the wretched condition of the van-  
 “ quished; the young of both sexes suffering vio-  
 “ lation; children torn from the mother’s arms;  
 “ virtuous matrons exposed to the brutal passions  
 “ of the conqueror; the houses of citizens, and  
 “ the temples of the gods, pillaged without dis-  
 “ tinction; the city made a theatre of blood and  
 “ horror; in a word, desolation and massacre in  
 “ every quarter.

“ But why, immortal gods! why all that waste  
 “ of eloquence? Was it to inflame our passions?  
 “ to kindle indignation? to excite a detestation  
 “ of rebellion? If the guilt of these men is not of  
 “ itself sufficient to fire us with resentment, is it  
 “ in the power of words to do it? I answer no;  
 “ resentment is implanted in our hearts by the  
 “ hand of nature; every man is sensible of in-  
 “ jury and oppression; many are apt to feel too  
 “ intensely. But we know, conscript Fathers,  
 “ that resentment does not operate alike in all the  
 “ ranks of life; he who dwells in obscurity, may  
 “ commit an act of violence, but the consequence  
 “ is confined to a small circle. The fame of the  
 “ offender,

“ offender, like his fortune, makes no noise in the  
 “ world. It is otherwise with those who figure  
 “ in exalted stations; the eyes of mankind are  
 “ upon them; and the wrong they do is consi-  
 “ dered as an abuse of power. Moderation is  
 “ the virtue of superior rank. In that pre-emi-  
 “ nence no apology is allowed for the injustice  
 “ that proceeds from partiality, from anger, aver-  
 “ sion, or animosity. The injury committed in  
 “ the lower classes of life, is called the impulse of  
 “ sudden passion; in the higher stations, it takes  
 “ the name of pride and cruelty.

“ I am willing, conscript Fathers, to admit  
 “ that the keenest torments are in no proportion  
 “ to the guilt of the conspirators. But let it be  
 “ remembered, that in all cases of punishment, it  
 “ is the catastrophe that makes the deepest im-  
 “ pression on the minds of the people. Is the  
 “ criminal treated with severity? his crimes  
 “ are forgotten, and his sufferings become the ge-  
 “ neral topic. What has been proposed to you  
 “ by Decius Silanus, sprung, I am persuaded, from  
 “ his patriot zeal; I know the character of the  
 “ man; integrity and honour are the principles  
 “ that direct his conduct. Neither partiality,  
 “ nor private resentment, can govern his opinion.  
 “ But what he has proposed, appears to me, I  
 “ will not say cruel (for in the case of such male-  
 “ factors, what can be cruel?) but I am free to  
 “ declare,

“ declare, that it is contrary to the laws esta-  
 “ blished by our ancestors.

“ But let me ask you, Silanus, had your fears  
 “ for the public no influence on your judge-  
 “ ment? or was it the enormity of the crime that  
 “ roused your indignation? Our fears may now  
 “ subside: the vigilance of a great and enlighten-  
 “ ed consul has provided against every danger:  
 “ the guards, properly stationed by his orders,  
 “ afford us ample security.

“ With regard to capital punishment, it is a  
 “ truth well known, that to the man who lives  
 “ in distress and anguish of heart, death is not  
 “ an evil; it is a release from pain and misery;  
 “ it puts an end to the calamities of life; and  
 “ after the dissolution of the body, all is peace;  
 “ neither care nor joy can then intrude. But tell  
 “ me, Silanus, in the name of the immortal gods  
 “ I ask you! why did you not add, that, before  
 “ the mortal stroke, the prisoners should suffer  
 “ pain and torment under the scourge of the exe-  
 “ cutioner? Those penalties, you will say, are  
 “ forbidden by the Persian law: and have we  
 “ not laws, in express terms declaring, that the  
 “ life of a Roman citizen shall remain inviolable,  
 “ and that banishment is the only sentence that  
 “ can be enforced? Shall it be said that the  
 “ lictor's rod is worse than death? be it so; and  
 “ what can be too severe in the case of men con-  
 “ victed.



“ victed of the most horrible crimes? If, on the  
 “ other hand, stripes and lashes are the slightest  
 “ punishment, with what colour of reason are  
 “ we to respect a prohibitory law on a point of no  
 “ importance, and yet violate it in a matter of  
 “ the greatest moment?

“ It may be said, who will object to a decree  
 “ against the enemies of their country? The  
 “ answer is obvious; time may engender discon-  
 “ tent; a future day may condemn the proceed-  
 “ ing; unforeseen events, and even chance, that  
 “ with wild caprice perplexes human affairs, may  
 “ give us reason to repent. The punishment of  
 “ traitors, however severe, cannot be more than  
 “ their flagitious deeds deserve; but it behoves  
 “ us, conscript Fathers, to weigh well the conse-  
 “ quences before we proceed to judgment. Acts  
 “ of state that sprung from policy, and were per-  
 “ haps expedient on the spur of the occasion,  
 “ have grown into precedents often found to be  
 “ of evil tendency. The administration may fall  
 “ into the hands of ignorance and incapacity,  
 “ and in that case, the measure, which at first was  
 “ just and proper, becomes by misapplication to  
 “ other men and other times, the rule of bad  
 “ policy and injustice.

“ Of this truth, the Lacædemonians have left  
 “ us a striking example: they conquered the  
 “ Athenians, and, having established a supreme  
 “ council

“ council of thirty, introduced a new form of go-  
 “ vernment. Those magistrates began their ca-  
 “ reer by seizing the loose and profligate, and,  
 “ without a regular trial, sending them to imme-  
 “ diate execution. The people beheld the scene  
 “ with exultation, and applauded the proceeding.  
 “ But arbitrary power, thus established, knew no  
 “ bounds: honest men were seized without dis-  
 “ tinction, and put to death with the vile and in-  
 “ famous. The city of Athens was covered with  
 “ consternation, and the people had reason to re-  
 “ pent of their folly, in not foreseeing that discre-  
 “ tion is the law of tyrants.

“ At Rome, within our own memory, the vic-  
 “ torious Sylla ordered Damasippus, and others  
 “ of the same stamp, who had enriched them-  
 “ selves by the spoils of the commonwealth, to  
 “ be strangled in prison: who at that time did  
 “ not consider the measure as an act of justice?  
 “ all ranks of men proclaimed with one voice,  
 “ that a set of incendiaries, who by their sedi-  
 “ tious practices had embroiled the state, had  
 “ justly paid the forfeit of their crimes. What  
 “ was the consequence? a general massacre fol-  
 “ lowed. Whoever coveted his neighbour's house  
 “ in the city, or his villa in the country; who-  
 “ ever panted for a well-wrought vase, a splendid  
 “ garment, or any other valuable effects; his  
 “ stratagem was to insert the owner in the list of  
 “ the

“ the proscribed. It followed by consequence,  
 “ that the very men who applauded the execu-  
 “ tion of Damasippus, perished afterwards by the  
 “ same violence. Nor did the carnage cease, till  
 “ Silya satisfied the rapacity of his followers.

“ It must be admitted, that, in times like  
 “ the present, when Marcus Tullius Cicero con-  
 “ ducts the administration, scenes of that tragic  
 “ nature are not to be apprehended. But in a  
 “ large populous city, when the minds of men  
 “ are ever in agitation, a variety of jarring opi-  
 “ nions must prevail. At a future day, and un-  
 “ der another consul, who may have an army at  
 “ his back, falsehood may appear in the garb of  
 “ truth, and gain universal credit. In such a  
 “ juncture, should the consul, encouraged by our  
 “ example, and armed with power by the decree  
 “ of the senate, think proper to unsheath the  
 “ sword, who shall stop him in his career? who  
 “ will be able to appease his vengeance?

“ Our ancestors, conscript Fathers, never want-  
 “ ed wisdom or courage; nor were they ever so  
 “ elate with pride, as to be above imitating the  
 “ wholesome institutions of other nations. They  
 “ borrowed the make of their arms, and the use  
 “ of them, from the Samnites; from the Tus-  
 “ cans they adopted the robes and ensigns of the  
 “ magistracy; and in short, whatever they saw  
 “ proper and useful among their allies, and even  
 “ their



“ their enemies, that they were sure to transplant  
 “ for their own advantage. They wished to im-  
 “ prove by good example, and they were above  
 “ the little passion of envy.

“ In that early period, and with that generous  
 “ disposition, they looked towards Greece, and  
 “ from that nation imported the custom of pu-  
 “ nishing some offences by the licitor’s rod, and  
 “ in capital cases they pronounced judgment of  
 “ death. In process of time, when the state rose  
 “ to power and grandeur, and the people, as will  
 “ always be the case in prodigious multitudes,  
 “ were divided into contending factions, innocent  
 “ men were often oppressed, and grievances in-  
 “ creased and multiplied; it was then that the  
 “ Persian law, and others of a similar nature, re-  
 “ pealed the power of inflicting capital punish-  
 “ ment, and left to the condemned the privilege  
 “ of going into exile.

“ By these examples, and this train of reason-  
 “ ing, I am led to this conclusion: consult your  
 “ own dignity, conscript Fathers, and beware of  
 “ innovation. I believe I may assume, without  
 “ fear of being contradicted, that the eminent  
 “ men of a former day, who from small beginnings  
 “ raised this mighty empire, possessed a larger  
 “ portion of wisdom and virtue than has fallen to  
 “ the lot of their descendants. What our ancestors  
 “ obtained with glory, we of the present day find  
 “ too

“ too much for our decayed abilities ; we sink  
 “ under the weight.

“ But you will say, what is the scope of this  
 “ long argument ? shall the conspirators be dis-  
 “ charged, and suffered to strengthen Catiline’s  
 “ army ? Far from it : my advice is this ; let their  
 “ estate and effects be confiscated ; detain their  
 “ persons in separate prisons, and for that purpose  
 “ chuse the strongest of the municipal towns ;  
 “ declare, by a positive law, that no motion in  
 “ their favour shall be brought forward in the se-  
 “ nate, and that no appeal shall be made to the  
 “ people. Add to your decree, that whoever shall  
 “ presume to espouse the cause of the guilty,  
 “ shall be deemed an enemy to the common-  
 “ wealth.” (Z)

As soon as Cæsar closed his speech, the senators appeared to be variously inclined. Some freely spoke their minds ; others were content by different ways to signify their sentiments, and opposite opinions seemed to prevail. At length Marcus Cato was called upon in his turn. The substance of his speech was as follows :

“ Upon the question now before you, conscript  
 “ Fathers, I feel myself affected by different sen-  
 “ timents. When I view the circumstances of  
 “ the times, and the dangers that surround us, I  
 “ see reason to be alarmed ; when I consider what

(Z) Note 24.

F

“ has

“ has been said by some who have gone before me,  
 “ their arguments appear to me ill-timed, and of  
 “ little weight. The reasoning of those senators,  
 “ was altogether confined to the degree of punish-  
 “ ment due to men who have conspired to levy  
 “ war against their country, their parents, their  
 “ altars, and their gods. But the true point in  
 “ debate should be, before we think of pains and  
 “ penalties, what measures ought to be pursued in  
 “ order to avert calamity and ruin. Crimes of a  
 “ different nature from the present are tried and  
 “ condemned after the commission of the fact ;  
 “ at present our business is to ward off the im-  
 “ pending danger. Suffer the incendiaries to  
 “ execute their purpose, and the tribunals of  
 “ justice must be silent. When the city is taken  
 “ by assault, nothing is left to the vanquished.

“ To you, who have always set the highest va-  
 “ lue on your splendid mansions, and magnificent  
 “ villas ; who have been delighted with your  
 “ pictures, and your statues ; who have had your  
 “ pleasures more at heart than the interest of  
 “ your country ; to you I now address myself.  
 “ If you still cherish your possessions ; if, what-  
 “ ever their value may be, you still wish to enjoy  
 “ them, I conjure you by the immortal gods !  
 “ awake from your lethargy, and stand forward in  
 “ the cause of your country. We are not now in  
 “ a debate about the revenue ; the complaints  
 “ and



“ and grievances of our allies are not the subject  
 “ of our inquiry; our lives and liberties are at  
 “ stake; all that is dear to us is in danger.

“ I have often had occasion, conscript Fathers,  
 “ to deliver my sentiments in this assembly: I  
 “ have often remonstrated against luxury and  
 “ avarice, those darling passions of the time; and  
 “ by speaking my mind with freedom, I know  
 “ that I have given umbrage to many. But how  
 “ was I to act? in my own conduct I have been a  
 “ rigid censor of myself; and could it be expected  
 “ that I should see the transgressions of others  
 “ without reproof? It is true; that my sentiments  
 “ made no impression; but the commonwealth  
 “ was not in danger; it subsisted by its own inter-  
 “ nal vigour. The flourishing state of our affairs  
 “ made an apology for the weakness of government.  
 “ The debate at present is not about good or evil  
 “ manners; the grandeur of the Roman empire  
 “ is not part of our inquiry: the question is,  
 “ whether the state, such as it is, shall remain in  
 “ our hands, or fall with ourselves in one common  
 “ ruin, a prey to our enemies?

“ In such a juncture, are we to hear of mercy  
 “ and moderation? We have lost, for a long time  
 “ have lost, the true names of things: to be lavish  
 “ of the property of others, is called liberality; to  
 “ be daring in guilt, is fortitude; and by these  
 “ steps we are led to the brink of ruin.

“ Let those who approve of the reigning man-  
 “ ners, pursue their error ; let them be merciful  
 “ to the plunderers of the revenue ; but let them  
 “ spare the effusion of our blood, and let them  
 “ not, by extending mercy to a set of abandoned  
 “ culprits, involve honest men in sure destruction.  
 “ Cæsar has delivered his sentiments concern-  
 “ ing life and death, and he treated the subject  
 “ with force and elegance. He, it should seem,  
 “ considers all we have heard about a state of fu-  
 “ ture existence, as a vulgar error ; the places  
 “ assigned to good and evil spirits are to him a  
 “ mere fable ; gloomy, waste, and dreary regions,  
 “ the abode of guilt and sorrow, are no part of his  
 “ creed. His opinion, therefore, is, that the effects  
 “ of the malefactors should be confiscated, and  
 “ they themselves confined in the jails of different  
 “ municipal towns ; and this measure he recom-  
 “ mends, as I conceive, from an apprehension,  
 “ that, if detained at Rome, they may be rescued  
 “ by their accomplices, or by a mob hired for the  
 “ purpose. But let me ask, is Rome the only  
 “ place that harbours traitors and incendiaries ?  
 “ are not men of that stamp to be found all over  
 “ Italy ? is not the place where the authority of  
 “ government is least in force, the most likely to  
 “ be disturbed by tumults and insurrections ?  
 “ From these premises it follows, that Cæsar’s  
 “ advice, if he believes that a conspiracy has been  
 “ actually

“ actually formed, is feeble and ineffectual: on  
 “ the other hand, if, amidst the general conster-  
 “ nation, he alone sees nothing to fear, that very  
 “ circumstance is to me a new cause of alarm: I  
 “ fear for myself, and my fellow-citizens.

“ For these reasons, conscript Fathers, when  
 “ we pronounce sentence on Lentulus, and the  
 “ rest of his faction, let us remember, that we  
 “ decide the fate of Catiline and his followers.  
 “ Act with vigour, and the enemy shrinks back  
 “ dismayed. If you remain languid, and do not  
 “ adopt the most vigorous measures, the rebels  
 “ will advance upon us with redoubled fury.

“ Our ancestors, it is well known, raised an in-  
 “ fant state to a vast and flourishing empire; but  
 “ let us not imagine that this great work was ac-  
 “ complished by the mere force of arms. If a  
 “ warlike spirit was the sole cause of our grandeur,  
 “ the state at this day would be more secure and  
 “ flourishing than ever. We have a larger body  
 “ of citizens; our allies are more numerous, and  
 “ our store of arms, our horses, and military pre-  
 “ parations, exceed all that was known in former  
 “ times. But there were other causes of their  
 “ success and grandeur, and those causes exist no  
 “ longer. Our ancestors were distinguished by  
 “ industry at home; they administered justice  
 “ abroad; they brought with them to public de-



“ bate firm integrity, and minds free from vice,  
 “ unbiassed by passion.

“ What has the present age to boast of? lux-  
 “ ury and avarice form the characteristic of the  
 “ times; we have private wealth and public po-  
 “ verty; we idolize riches, and sink down in  
 “ torpid indolence; between good and bad men  
 “ no distinction is made; the rewards of virtue  
 “ are the quarry of ambition. Nor can this be  
 “ matter of wonder; each individual thinks for  
 “ himself only; self-interest is the spring of his  
 “ actions: at home, he leads a life of voluptuous  
 “ pleasure, and in the senate, corruption and  
 “ private influence warp and disgrace his con-  
 “ duct. Of all this what is the consequence?  
 “ we are lulled to sleep, while our enemies are  
 “ busy, active, and vigilant to involve us all in  
 “ ruin.

“ But I waive these complaints, and pass to  
 “ what presses more: a conspiracy has been  
 “ formed by men of illustrious rank, to lay waste  
 “ the city with fire and sword. The Gauls, a  
 “ people ever hostile to the Roman name, have  
 “ been invited to join the league; the rebel chief  
 “ at the head of his army is near at hand, and  
 “ hovers over his prey. Yet we sit here in tame  
 “ debate, uncertain what course to take with par-  
 “ ricides who have been seized in the heart of the  
 “ city.

“ Is

“ Is this a time for compassion? indulge it,  
 “ if you will; grant a free pardon to the traitors;  
 “ they are young men, led astray by false am-  
 “ bition; release them from confinement; let  
 “ them issue forth to rally round the standard of  
 “ rebellion. But let me entreat you, pause for  
 “ a moment: it were false compassion, and ine-  
 “ vitable ruin will be the consequence. We are  
 “ now in a crisis big with danger; and would you  
 “ persuade me that you are free from appre-  
 “ hension? I know the contrary: you are all  
 “ alarmed, and yet, fluctuating in doubt, you  
 “ watch each other’s motions with effeminate  
 “ weakness, unwilling to decide for yourselves. ✕

“ You rely, perhaps, on the immortal gods, for  
 “ that protection which they have extended to  
 “ the commonwealth in the hour of danger. But  
 “ do not deceive yourselves: the favour of pro-  
 “ vidence is not obtained by occasional vows and  
 “ female lamentation; it is by vigilance, by the  
 “ wisdom of councils, and by vigorous measures,  
 “ that the efforts of men are crowned with suc-  
 “ cess. The supplications of sloth and indolence  
 “ are offered up in vain: the gods look down  
 “ with indignation.

“ In an early period of our history, when the  
 “ Gauls carried on a fierce and bloody war against  
 “ the state, Aulus Manlius Torquatus condemn-  
 “ ed his own son to death for having presumed to  
 “ attack the enemy without orders. That excel-

“ lent young man died for his excess of valour ;  
 “ and in a time like this, when the guilt of un-  
 “ natural traitors calls aloud for vengeance, will  
 “ you linger here in doubt, undecided, wavering,  
 “ and irresolute ?

“ Am I to be told, that the former conduct of  
 “ these unhappy men pleads in their favour ? if  
 “ that is your opinion, spare the dignity of Len-  
 “ tulus : I consent, if he ever spared his charac-  
 “ ter, his honour, or his fame ; if in any one in-  
 “ stance he ever shewed the least regard for gods  
 “ or men. Extend your mercy to Cethegus ;  
 “ excuse the rashness of youth, if this is not the  
 “ second time of his being in arms against his  
 “ country. What shall I say of Gabinius, Sta-  
 “ tilius, and Ceparius ? no more than this : had  
 “ they ever listened to the dictates of truth and  
 “ honour, the crime of treason would not now  
 “ be laid to their charge.

“ Let me now assure you, conscript Fathers,  
 “ that if I saw you in danger of nothing more  
 “ than a simple error, I should willingly leave it  
 “ to time to correct your judgment. But we are  
 “ beset on every side ; the danger presses ; the  
 “ enemy draws near ; Catiline is at your gates ;  
 “ traitors lurk in the heart of the city ; you can-  
 “ not deliberate in private ; your measures are  
 “ known abroad ; and for all those reasons you  
 “ have no time to lose.

“ To



“ To conclude ; since by the pernicious prac-  
 “ tices of abandoned men the commonwealth is  
 “ involved in danger ; since the agents in this  
 “ scene of iniquity stand detected by the evidence  
 “ of Titus Volturcius, and the Allobrogian depu-  
 “ ties, as well as their own confession ; and since  
 “ it is now in proof, that they were all engaged  
 “ in a black conspiracy to lay a scene of blood,  
 “ of massacre, and a general conflagration, my  
 “ settled opinion is, that, in conformity to ancient  
 “ usage, the several malefactors, like criminals ca-  
 “ pitally convicted, should be condemned to suf-  
 “ fer death. My voice is for their immediate  
 “ execution.”

As soon as Cato concluded, all of consular rank, and, indeed, the majority of the Fathers, went over to his opinion. They extolled his spirit and greatness of soul with the warmest applause ; they fell into mutual reproaches, and accused one another of pusillanimity. The house resounded with the praises of Cato, and a decree was passed in form and substance as he proposed.

A reflection occurs in this place, which may claim some attention. The brave exploits and upright policy of the Romans have filled the page of history. After studying that page with diligence, and attending to the observations of others, I was led by curiosity to inquire what were the resources of the commonwealth, and what the principles

principles that contributed to raise and support so vast a fabric. I was aware, that with inferior armies Rome had often made head against great and powerful nations; I knew that mighty monarchs had been obliged to yield to the superior valour of well disciplined forces, and that the Roman legions were not to be subdued by adverse fortune. The Greeks had made the palm of eloquence their own, and the Gauls were at one time famous for a more warlike spirit.

The result of my inquiries was, that the Roman name owes all its lustre to the patriot spirit of a few great and eminent men, who by their virtue enabled poverty to cope with the wealth of nations, and inferior numbers to triumph over numerous armies. But when, after a long series of success, luxury diffused its baneful influence, and the minds of men grew torpid in ease and indolence, the commonwealth by its own inward energy was still able to stand on a solid basis, firm and unshaken by the vices of her commanders abroad, and the intrigues of her magistrates at home. But the season of public virtue has declined, and for several years Rome, like a superannuated matron, did not produce one great and eminent character.

Of late indeed, we have seen flourishing among us two illustrious citizens, both of the first order, adorned with superior talents, but different in their manners. The persons whom I have in view, are  
 Marcus

Marcus Cato and Caius Julius Cæsar. Two such characters ought not to be passed by in silence. They naturally present themselves to the historian's observation, and since the opportunity is so fair, I shall here endeavour, with all the skill I am master of, to give the prominent features of each.

In point of birth, age, and eloquence, they were nearly equal. Greatness of soul was the characteristic of both. They attained the summit of glory, but by different means. Cæsar came upon mankind by acts of friendship, and public munificence: Cato stood distinguished by his moral conduct, and the integrity of his life. Humanity and benevolence were the virtues of Cæsar: severity of manners added dignity to the name of Cato. The former gained the affections of mankind by liberal donations, by generosity to his friends, and by forgiving his enemies; the latter distributed no favours, and on that reserved temper founded his glory. One was the protector of the unhappy; the other, the scourge of bad men. Cæsar was admired for the facility of his manners; Cato for his unshaken constancy. In a word, Cæsar entered on a career of vigilance, of active industry, and laborious application; he devoted his time to the interest of his friends, regardless of his own; whatever he possessed worthy of acceptance, he gave as a present; ambition was his ruling passion; he aimed at prodigious things; he desired to have  
the



the command of armies ; he considered war as his element, and panted for some bright occasion, which might lay open to him the field of glory. Cato, on the other hand, was careful to observe the rules of moderation, of regular conduct, and, above all, an inflexible severity of manners. In point of riches he vied with no man ; with the factious he entered into no competition ; an honest emulation inspired his soul ; the constant rival of the good and worthy, he struggled for the palm of courage with the brave ; in simplicity of life he contended with the modest, and in a constant course of virtue, with the most pure and innocent. To be, and not to seem, was his settled principle. He disregarded popularity, and his glory rose the higher.

As soon as the senate concurred, as has been mentioned, with the sentiments of Cato, the consul thought that no time ought to be lost, and accordingly, to prevent seditious attempts during the night, which was then approaching, he ordered the triumvirs to prepare for the immediate execution of the condemned malefactors ; he himself, having first disposed his guards at proper stations, conducted Lentulus to the prison. The prætors attended the rest of the conspirators.

In the jail, as you ascend on the left hand, there is a place called the Tullian dungeon, sunk about twelve feet under ground, inclosed on all sides with

with strong walls, and covered over with a stone arch ; a dark and dismal vault, exhaling a foetid stench, the last stage of guilt and misery. Lentulus was conducted to that hideous cavern, and there strangled by the officers of justice.

Such was the dismal catastrophe of a man descended from an illustrious branch of the Cornelian family, who had been invested with the consular dignity. He closed his days by an ignominious death, the just retribution due to his crimes. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius, suffered in like manner.

While these transactions passed at Rome, Catiline, with the forces which he had collected, and those that listed under Manlius, was able to form two legions. He allotted to each cohort as many soldiers as his numbers would allow. Afterwards, when volunteers arrived, and recruits were sent to the camp by his various agents, he distributed his new levies in equal proportions, and by degrees his legions had their full complement. His whole number at first did not exceed two thousand. When his army was reinforced, not more than a fourth part was supplied with military weapons ; the rest were armed with what chance threw in their way ; some with darts, others with spears, and the rest with stakes sharpened to a point.

Antonius advanced at the head of his army, but Catiline, declining an engagement, wheeled  
off

off towards the mountains, at times directing his march towards Rome, and soon after shifting his route, as if determined to penetrate into Gaul. To force him to a decisive action was impossible. He flattered himself, if his adherents at Rome succeeded in their machinations, that he should soon receive a strong reinforcement. Flushed with these expectations, he resolved to reject the slaves, who from the first crowded to his standard. For this conduct he had political reasons: the war, he pretended, was undertaken to reform the senate, and restore the rights of the people: the cause of freedom, he thought, ought not to be dishonoured by an alliance with men of the lowest rank in society.

It was not long before intelligence from Rome reached the camp. It was there known that the conspiracy was detected, and that Lentulus, with Cethegus and the rest, had suffered death. The consequence was, that Catiline soon found himself abandoned by a number of those ready tools of rebellion, whom the love of innovation, and a passion for plunder, had induced to follow his banners. In that posture of affairs, he thought it advisable to lead his army, by forced marches, over craggy mountains into the territory of Pistorium, and thence his plan was to wind through the defiles of the country, and find a passage into Cisalpine Gaul.

It



It happened, however, that Quintus Metellus Celer, with three legions under his command, was stationed in the country near Picenum. The difficulties to which Catiline was reduced, made it probable that he would endeavour to elude the Roman general. Accordingly, Metellus, informed by the deserters of the march of the rebels, moved forward without delay, and pitched his camp at the foot of the mountains, in a situation that commanded the passage into Gaul. At the same time Antonius, at the head of a large army, having an open country before him, pursued by rapid marches, and hung upon the rear of the enemy.

In that crisis of his affairs, Catiline found himself inclosed, on one side by inaccessible mountains, and on the other hemmed in by the legions. He knew that his partizans were undone, and executed at Rome; no way for flight, and no hope of succour remaining, he resolved to stand the hazard of a battle with Antonius. His plan thus settled, he drew out his army, and, to inflame their ardour, addressed them in the following manner :

“ I am not now to learn, my fellow-soldiers,  
 “ that true courage and heroic fortitude can never  
 “ be inspired by the power of words : if an army  
 “ is void of spirit ; if the men do not feel a ge-  
 “ nerous impulse in their own hearts, no speech  
 “ that a general can make, will rouse them to  
 “ deeds

“ deeds of valour. Courage is the gift of nature.  
 “ When it burns like an inward fire, and expands  
 “ the breast, it is sure to blaze out in the field  
 “ of battle. He whom neither danger nor glory  
 “ can excite, will never be roused by exhortations.  
 “ His fears have made him deaf to the call of  
 “ honour. It is for a different purpose that I  
 “ have now assembled you : I mean to give you  
 “ my best instructions, and open to you the rea-  
 “ sons that incline me to vigorous and decisive  
 “ measures.

“ You have heard what a dreadful disaster the  
 “ temper of Lentulus has brought upon himself,  
 “ and our glorious cause ; you know, that being  
 “ amused with hopes of a reinforcement from  
 “ Rome, I lost the opportunity of marching into  
 “ Gaul. I need not say any thing of our pre-  
 “ sent situation ; the posture of affairs is visible  
 “ to you all. Two hostile armies are at hand ;  
 “ one holds us in check on the side of Rome ;  
 “ the other obstructs our march into Gaul ; to  
 “ tarry longer in our present situation, even if we  
 “ wished it, is not in our power. Provisions to  
 “ support an army cannot be procured. Turn  
 “ which way you will, you must open a passage  
 “ sword in hand.

“ I desire you, therefore, I entreat you, my  
 “ fellow-soldiers, to call forth all your ardour ;  
 “ let this day give proofs of your heroic spirit.

“ When

“ When you rush to the attack, let each man  
 “ remember that on his arm depend riches, ho-  
 “ nours, immortal glory, and what is more, li-  
 “ berty, and the cause of his country. Plenty of  
 “ every thing is the sure fruit of victory : the  
 “ colonies and municipal towns will be ready to  
 “ open their gates to us. If we shrink back, no  
 “ resource is left ; not a friend will stretch a hand  
 “ to protect the men who acted like traitors to  
 “ themselves.

“ Let me further desire you to compare your  
 “ own case with that of your enemy : in the op-  
 “ posite army the men have not our incentives  
 “ to animate their valour. We take the field for  
 “ liberty and our country ; we fight in defence  
 “ of our own lives. What are the motives that  
 “ combine against you ? the adverse ranks have  
 “ no interest in the quarrel ; they draw their  
 “ swords to support the pride and grandeur of a  
 “ few tyrannical masters. Let this reflection in-  
 “ spire you with new ardour ; let it edge your  
 “ swords, and when you advance to the charge,  
 “ remember that you are this day to crown your  
 “ former exploits by a great and glorious victory.

“ Had you preferred a life of ignominy, you  
 “ might have passed your days in exile, and  
 “ there you might crawl on in want and beggary ;  
 “ or you might have remained at Rome, with-  
 “ out money, without effects, without a prospect



“ of relief, all wretched dependents on the bounty  
 “ of your masters. But you scorned a life of  
 “ servitude, and resolved, like men, to obtain a  
 “ radical reform of cruel and oppressive laws. If  
 “ at this moment it were possible for you to  
 “ abandon your glorious enterprise, could you,  
 “ do you think, secure your retreat? The at-  
 “ tempt would demand your firmest valour.  
 “ Peace is obtained by victory only ; in flight  
 “ there is no safety : when the arms which are in  
 “ our hands for self-defence, are turned from the  
 “ enemy, carnage and destruction follow. The  
 “ man in battle, who fears the most, is in the  
 “ greatest danger ; courage is a tower of strength.  
 “ When I survey you all, my fellow-soldiers,  
 “ and call to mind your past exploits, I am san-  
 “ guine enough to anticipate a glorious victory.  
 “ From your youthful vigour and undaunted  
 “ courage I expect every advantage. Even the  
 “ difficulties of our situation inspire me with con-  
 “ fidence ; for difficulties have often produced  
 “ prodigies of valour. The superior numbers of  
 “ the enemy, will not be able in these narrow de-  
 “ files to surround our lines. Should it be our  
 “ lot to experience the malignity of fortune, let  
 “ us determine to sell our lives at the dearest  
 “ rate, rather than be seized like a herd of cattle,  
 “ to be sacrificed at the will of a barbarous con-  
 “ queror. Resolve to act like men, and if we  
 “ must

“ must fall, let us not fall unrevenge'd ; let us  
 “ resolve to die sword in hand, and leave a vic-  
 “ tory, for which the conqueror may have reason  
 “ to mourn.”

Having closed this spirited harangue, Catiline paused to arrange all his measures, and, in a short time, the signal for advancing sounded through the ranks. The army marched in order of battle to the open plain. The cavalry had orders to dismount. Their horses were led to a remoter ground. By this measure, all being placed in one common danger, Catiline hoped that a bolder spirit would pervade the whole army. He himself proceeded through the lines on foot, and formed the best disposition that his numbers and the nature of the place would allow. The plain was bounded on the left by a steep range of mountains, and towards the right by a sharp-pointed rock. Eight cohorts formed their lines in the centre ; the rest of the troops took post in the rear, as a body of reserve to support the broken ranks. A select number of centurions and resumed veterans, with such of the common soldiers as were distinguished by their brave exploits, advanced as a chosen band to the front of the lines. The command of the right wing was given to Caius Manlius, and of the left to a native of Fæsulæ. Catiline himself, at the head of the freedmen, and the recruits from the colonies, took his  
 G 2 station

station near his favourite eagle, said to be the same that Marius displayed in the war against the Cimbrians.

Antonius, the commander of the Roman army, was attacked by a fit of the gout, and, by consequence, unable to conduct the battle. He gave the honour of the day to Marcus Petreius, his lieutenant-general. By the directions of that officer the army was drawn up in the following order: the veterans, who had been called out to serve in the exigence of the times, were stationed in the front; the rest of the army formed their lines in the rear. Petreius rode through the ranks, calling on the men by name: he exhorted, he conjured them to exert their former courage. "You see," he said, "a band of freebooters, of robbers, and murderers, a vile collection of incendiaries almost naked and disarmed. When you advance to the charge, remember that you draw the sword in the cause of your country, your children, your altars and your household gods." Petreius had been a military man for more than thirty years: he rose to eminence through the several gradations of tribune, præfect, lieutenant-general, and prætor, having served during all the time with the highest honour. In the several stations through which he passed, he had a fair opportunity of knowing most of the veterans: he called to mind their former conduct, and by holding

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ing to view their acts of valour, inspired them with a resolution to act in a manner worthy of themselves.

Having arranged his measures, Petreius ordered the trumpets to sound to battle. The cohorts advanced with a slow pace in regular order. Catiline's soldiers did the same. As soon as the two armies drew so near, that the light armed troops could begin the onset by a volley of darts, both sides set up a warlike shout, and rushed on to the attack. A close engagement followed. None relied on their missile weapons; they fought sword in hand. The veterans, eager to preserve their renown in arms, advanced into the heat of the action. The rebels received them with a steady countenance. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued. Catiline, at the head of his light armed infantry, shewed himself in the front of the lines; he fought in the thickest ranks; he succoured all that gave ground; he supplied the place of the wounded with fresh soldiers; wherever the enemy pressed, he was ready to support the ranks; he charged in person, and enacted prodigies of valour, at once a gallant soldier and an able general.

Petreius, seeing that Catiline disputed the field with more obstinacy than he at first expected, led his prætorian cohort into the thick of the battle. The rebels were thrown into disorder, and a dreadful slaughter followed. All who resisted were put

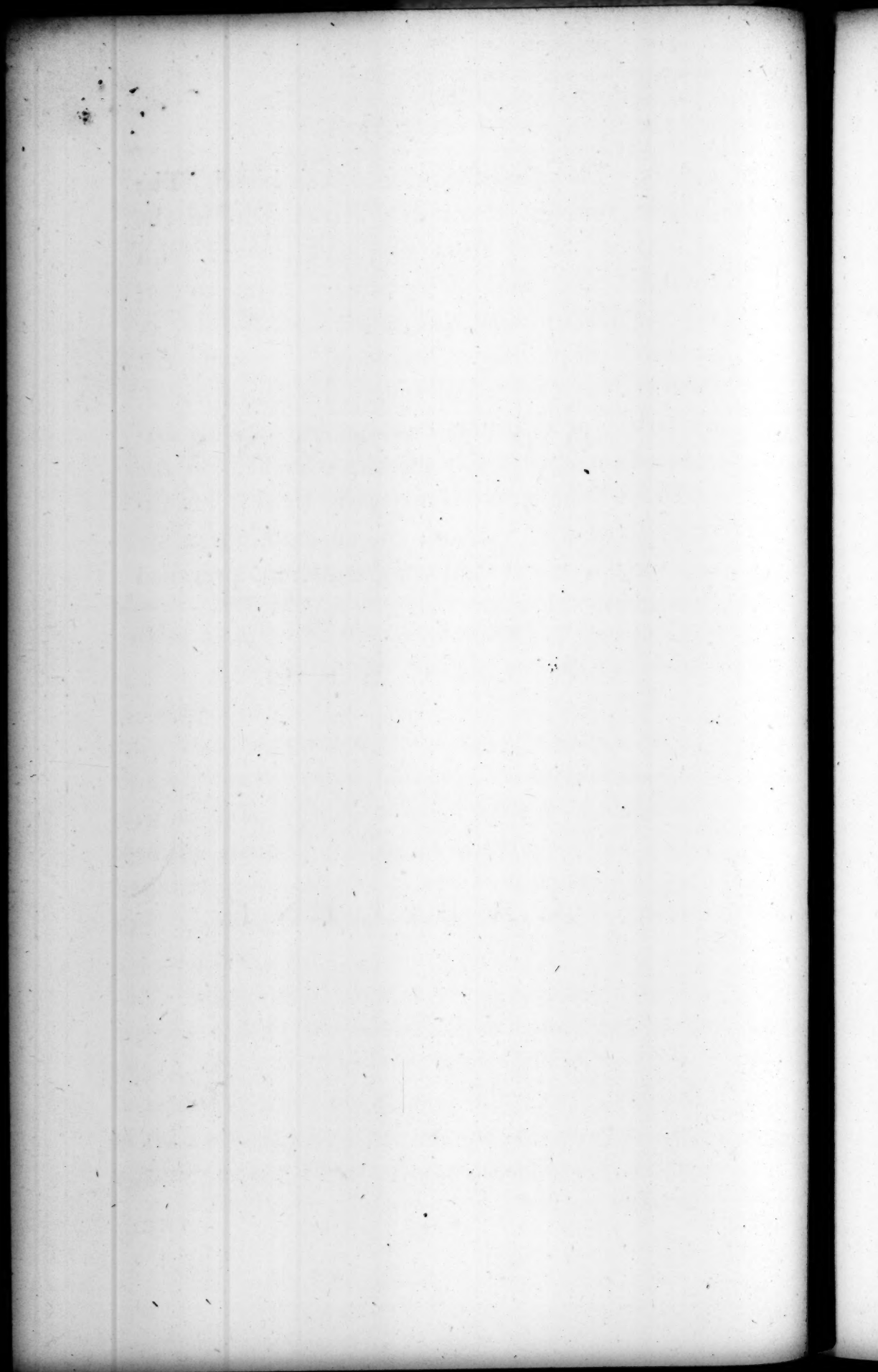
to the sword. The Roman wings, at the same time, attacked the enemy in flank. Manlius, and the commander from Fæsulæ, both fighting bravely, fell in the first onset. Catiline saw his troops routed on every side, and nothing but desolation round him. Having only a handful of his followers left, he was still determined not to forget his illustrious birth, and the dignity of his rank. He rushed among the closest ranks, and, exerting himself with fury and brave despair, fell under repeated wounds.

When the battle was ended, the fierce and obstinate spirit that animated Catiline's army, appeared manifest to view. The spot on which the soldier took his stand during the action, was covered with his body when he expired. A few, whom the prætorian cohort overpowered, were driven from their post, but they fell under honourable wounds. Catiline was found at a distance from his men, amidst heaps of slain. His breath had not quite left him: the same ferocity that distinguished him when living, was still visible in his countenance.

It may be further observed, that in his whole army not one free citizen was taken prisoner, either during the battle, or after the defeat. Determined to give no quarter, they were prodigal of their own lives. Nor could the army of the commonwealth boast of having gained a cheap  
victory.

victory. They paid the price of their blood. The bravest amongst them were either slain in the action, or carried from the field covered with wounds. Numbers went from the camp to survey the field of battle, led either by curiosity, or in search of plunder. Employed in moving the dead bodies, they found among the slain a friend, a relative, or an intimate companion. Some discovered their particular enemies stretched on the ground. The impressions made by this melancholy scene were various: mixed emotions of joy and sorrow, regret and congratulation, prevailed throughout the army.





THE  
ORATIONS  
OF  
CICERO  
AGAINST  
CATILINE.





THE  
FIRST ORATION OF CICERO  
AGAINST  
CATILINE.

SPOKEN IN THE SENATE, 8TH NOVEMBER,  
A. U. C. 690. (AA)

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**H**OW long, Catiline, will you dare to abuse our patience? how long are we to be the sport of your frantic fury? to what extremity do you mean to carry your unbridled insolence? has the guard stationed every night on Mount Palatine made no impression on you? does the watch that patrols the streets of Rome excite no alarm? the people are covered with consternation; all honest men are of one mind; they unite against you in every quarter: and are you not struck with terror? not struck by this awful meeting of the Fathers, assembled, as you see, in this place of strength and security? behold their countenances; observe the looks with which they view you: and

(AA) Note 25.

does

does not your heart shrink within you? do you not feel that your guilt is detected? that your designs stand manifest to view? that your conspiracy is defeated? do you imagine that in this assembly there is a single person who is not aware of your proceedings? who does not know what you did last night, or on the night preceding; where you held your convention; who were your associates; and what measures you concerted? But O degenerate times! the senate is informed; the consul knows every circumstance, and yet the traitor lives! Lives, did I say? he comes into the house; he takes his seat among us; he throws his eyes around, and marks every one of us for destruction: while we, brave men! sit here in tame debate, conceiving, if we ward off the danger from ourselves, that we discharge our duty to our country.

Your fate, Catiline, has been too long deferred: before this time you ought to have suffered death by order of the consul. The ruin which you have planned, ought long before this day to have fallen on your own head. Could that eminent Roman, Publius Scipio, when he was no more than chief pontiff, by his own private authority cut off Tiberius Gracchus, an enemy, indeed, to the state, but still a man who wished to alter, not to overturn the government; and shall we, the chief magistrates, the consuls of Rome, tamely suffer the machinations of a traitor, who means with sword and fire

to lay waste the Roman world? I will not go back for ancient precedents; I omit the example of Quintus Servilius Ahala, who with his own right arm put to death Spurius Melius, a man charged with meditating innovations in the state. There was in ancient times that energy of mind, yes, in this republic there was that patriot spirit, that could punish a domestic traitor (BB) with a weight of vengeance never inflicted on the most inveterate foreign enemy. Even at this time we have against you, Catiline, a just and awful decree of the senate: the commonwealth is defended by prudent counsel, and in this august assembly there is ample authority; but we, the consuls, I speak my mind with freedom, we, the consuls, are deficient in our duty.

In a former period of our history, the senate ordained by a decree, that Lucius Opimius, the consul, *should take care that the commonwealth received no injury.* (CC) Not a single night intervened, when Caius Gracchus was put to death for seditious practices; that very Gracchus, who was descended from a father of distinguished merit, from a grandfather of eminent character, and a line of illustrious ancestors. Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular dignity, suffered in like manner: his two sons perished with him.

(BB) Note 26.

(CC) Note 27.



By a similar decree, the commonwealth was committed to the two consuls, Caius Marius and Lucius Valerius : on that occasion, was the punishment of Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and Caius Servilius, then one of the prætors, deferred for a single day ? they both fell a sacrifice to the justice of their country. And yet, during the last twenty days, we, the consuls, have suffered the authority of this assembly to languish in our hands. We are armed with a similar decree ; but it is with us a mere matter of record, like a sword inclosed in the scabbard. By that authority you, Catiline, have been long since condemned to death. You live, notwithstanding, but you live, not to repent of your crimes, but to cherish them in your heart, and add to your iniquity.

To administer justice with mercy, conscript Fathers, is the propensity of my heart ; but in this dangerous crisis I am not willing to appear remiss ; but still, it must be acknowledged, I have remained inactive ; my conscience upbraids me for it. An army has been levied ; the rebels are encamped in the defiles of Etruria ; their numbers increase every day. The commander of that army, the chief of that hostile crew, walks at large among us. We see him in the senate, bent on mischief, and meditating scenes of blood and massacre. Should I this moment, Catiline,  
order

order you to be seized, and hurried away to execution, good men, I fear, would still pronounce me slow and tardy in the discharge of my duty : none would think me rigorous or vindictive.

But this act of justice, which ought to have been long since performed, I chuse for weighty reasons to defer for the present. You shall then be sent to execution, when there cannot be found a man so vile and profligate, so like yourself, as not to acknowledge that you deserved your fate. As long as there breathes a man hardy enough to defend your cause, I will allow you to live ; but you shall live, as you now do, encompassed by a numerous guard, whose watchful care will not suffer you to move or stir against your country. The eyes of men, when you little suspect it, will be fixed upon you, and their ears will be ready to catch each treasonable word that you shall dare to utter. (*DD*)

Thus situated, Catiline, what have you to expect ? the gloom of night cannot conceal your fell designs ; the walls of your own house are not thick enough to inclose the voice of treason ; every syllable is heard ; your dark complottings all transpire. Then take my advice ; renounce your frantic projects ; think no more of massacre and ruin. You are hemmed in on every side ;

(*DD*) Note 23.

your

your designs ate seen in open day-light. To convince you, I will give you a detail of the whole :

You may remember what passed in the senate on the twelfth before the calends of November : on that occasion, I declared aloud, that on a certain day the standard of rebellion would be reared. I even named the day, the 27th of October : I gave notice, that on that day, Caius Manlius, your accomplice, your general officer, would be in open arms. Was I a false prophet ? did I not foretell that horrible event ? what is more, did I not fix the very day ? But this is not all : I declared to the Fathers, that the 28th of the same month was the day fixed by yourself for a general massacre of the most eminent citizens : Rome was to be made a theatre of blood and horror. On that day, a considerable number of the most illustrious men withdrew from the city, not so much to avoid your band of assassins, as to defeat your execrable project. Can you deny, that on that day you was closely besieged by a guard under my direction ? that by my vigilance all your measures were defeated ? When you found that numbers had withdrawn from the reach of your poniards, what was your declaration ? the men, you said, who made their escape, were of no consequence, provided that I, who kept my post in the city, fell a victim to your fury. Nay more ; your design against Prænesté was to be carried



carried into execution on the calends of November; in the dead of night that fortress was to be taken by assault; (*EE*) but you found all your measures counteracted. By my orders the garrison secured the colony. You do nothing, you form no plan, you harbour no design, but I hear, I see, I discover all.

Let us now review the transactions of last night. A true state of the facts will convince you, that I am more active to save the commonwealth, than you to destroy it. Where was you last night? I will tell you, and I will name the place: you were at the house of Marcus Lecca, in consultation with your accomplices. Do you deny it? why that sullen silence? the proof is in my power: I now see in this assembly men of senatorian rank, who are leagued with you in your frantic schemes; they attended your midnight council.

Immortal gods! where are we? in what city do we reside? of what republic are we members? Here, conscript Fathers, here in this very house, in this great council of the commonwealth, in this august assembly, the most venerable on the face of the globe, here in a Roman senate, we have amongst us a lurking band of traitors, who have resolved on the murder of your consul; who have conspired against you all; who have planned the ruin of this city, and, by consequence, of the

(*EE*) Note 29.

H

Roman

Roman world. I see the men now before me; in the character of consul I behold them; I am to collect their votes in this debate; and, when I ought to send them to the sword of justice, I forbear to mention their names.

But my business, Catiline, is with you: you were last night at the house of Lecca; you fixed your stations in different parts of Italy; you ordered your emissaries to their several posts; you selected some to be left at Rome, and others to attend you to the Camp; you marked out the quarter of the city where the conflagration was to begin; you declared your intention to join your army, but your journey was to be deferred, because I was still alive. In that moment it was found that there existed two Roman knights ready to bear the assassin's dagger. They undertook to relieve you from your anxiety; they promised before the dawn of day to poniard me in my bed. Your assembly was scarce dissolved when I was informed of all. I strengthened my guards; I secured my house; your assassins came, and were refused admittance. They were the very men whose names I had mentioned to several illustrious citizens, with all the particulars of their insidious visit, and the very hour when their black design was to be executed.

Things standing thus, what hinders you, Catiline, from pursuing your original plan? proceed

as you intended; leave the city; the gates are open to you; begin your journey. The Manlian camp has been too long held in suspense; your soldiers expect their general; take with you your whole band of conspirators; if not all, take the greatest part, and let Rome disgorge the cankers of her peace: you will deliver me from my fears; a wall between us will be a sufficient safe-guard. You cannot remain among us; I will not bear it; I will not suffer it; I will not allow it.

Immortal gods! the thanks of a whole people are due to you; and chiefly to thee, Jupiter Stator, in whose temple we now are; to thee, thou ancient guardian of the state, our vows and supplications ought now to ascend; to thee we owe it, that on so many occasions we have escaped the fury of this worst of enemies, this most pernicious citizen, this monster of iniquity. But it is now time to close this scene of terror. The commonwealth must not be for ever exposed to the machinations of one desperate traitor.

Before I entered on the high office which I hold; when I was no more than consul elect, I was well aware, Catiline, of your designs against my life; but I was able by my own vigilance, without calling on the public for protection, to ward off every danger. At the last election of consuls for the ensuing year, I was doomed, with the candidates that opposed you, to bleed in the



field of Mars ; but even then I raised no alarm ; the assistance of my friends was sufficient to defeat your horrid purpose. In a word, as often as your poniard was aimed at me, I stood alone in opposition to your fury, though I clearly saw that my life was interwoven with the public safety. Your blow at present is levelled at the vitals of the commonwealth ; the temples of our gods, the mansions of the people, and the lives of our fellow-citizens are doomed to destruction ; all Italy is to be laid waste, and the whole country to be a scene of desolation.

And yet even now, in this awful crisis, I am not willing to enforce the laws established by ancient usage, and the spirit of the constitution. Another expedient presents itself, less severe to the criminal, but more conducive to the public safety. Were I to pronounce judgment of death, the execution of one man would not remove the rest of the traitors, who still continue to lurk amongst us. If you, Catiline, proceed on your intended journey, the whole crew of your adherents will issue forth, and purge the city. Do you hesitate ? can you refuse to execute by my orders what was your own preconcerted plan ? the consul commands an enemy to retire : you ask me, must you go into banishment ? I do not order it ; but, if you want to know my opinion, I advise it.

What

What attraction can you find at present? what allurements can detain you in this city? if we except your own abandoned followers, is there to be found a man who does not live in dread of you? who does not behold you with detestation? is there a vice with which you are not branded? no new note of infamy can be added to your name; your eyes are deformed by libidinous passions; your hands are red with murder; your body is stained with pollution. In the number of young men whom your seducing arts have added to your train, is there one whose hand you have not armed with a dagger? is there one whose passions you have not inflamed, and pandered for his lust?

Nay more; when lately, upon the death of your former wife, you cleared your house to make way for a second bride, did you not add to that foul proceeding a crime of the most atrocious dye, and fill the measure of your guilt? but I draw a veil over that transaction: I am willing to consign it to oblivion, lest it should be known hereafter that so horrible a deed was perpetrated in this city, or, being perpetrated, that it passed with impunity. I say nothing of your ruined fortunes; the ensuing ices will crush you with a load of debt. I pass over the infamy of your private life, your enormous vices, your flagitious practices: I proceed to what is of more importance, the public safety, the

interest of all good men, and the very existence of the commonwealth.

For let me ask you, can you within the walls of Rome enjoy the light of the sun? can you with pleasure breathe the vital air, when you reflect that there is not one among us who does not know, that on the last day of December, when Lepidus and Tullus were on the eve of closing their consulship, you carried with you to an assembly of the people a concealed dagger; that you were attended by a band of ruffians, ready by your orders to imbrue their hands in the blood of the consuls and the first men in Rome? It is true, that this execrable plot miscarried, not because you repented; not because you was capable of fear or remorse: the guardian genius of Rome prevented a general massacre.

I will not dwell on this subject: the facts are well known, and there are others of a recent date. How often have your snares been laid for me, not only when I was consul elect, but since I entered on the magistracy? your poniard has been often aimed at me in a direction that seemed inevitable, but I escaped the danger by shifting my ground, or, in the gladiator's phrase, by a new posture. There is nothing you can plan, nothing you can undertake, nothing you can attempt, that does not come directly, to my knowledge; and yet your in-  
vention



vention is not exhausted, your courage is not alarmed, your obstinacy is not fatigued. How often has your dagger been wrested out of your hand? how often has it fallen useless to the ground? and yet you are not disarmed: to what infernal god, and by what rites, you have dedicated your poniard, I do not know; but you cherish it as a consecrated weapon, never to be laid aside till you have sheathed it in the heart of a consul.

In your present condition, is your's a life that any man would chuse to lead? I now address you, not in the tone of indignation, which your guilt has provoked, but in the language of compassion, to which you have forfeited every claim. You chose this day to shew yourself in the senate. When you entered the house, who in this assembly acknowledged you? who among your numerous friends and relations rose to salute you? if such a reception is without a precedent; if in the memory of man no instance of the kind has happened, need I exalt my voice, when the awful silence of the Fathers has more emphatically condemned you? when you came forward, those benches were deserted; when you took your seat, the senators of consular rank, for whose blood your dagger had long been thirsting, all rose at once, and left a void on that side of the house. What are now the sensations of your heart? by heaven, if my domestic slaves had as good reason

to fear me, as every honest man has to hold you in detestation, I should abandon my house; and will you presume to remain in the city? let me tell you more: were it my misfortune, even without just cause, to be abhorred by my fellow-citizens, I should remove to a distant scene, rather than stay among them, to bear the glance of resentment, and the scowling eye of suspicion. And will you, whose conscience in bitter accents tells you that you have incurred the public hatred; will you, I say, remain at Rome? will you by your presence wound the eyes of men, whose indignation your crimes have already provoked?

If your parents lived in dread of you; if they beheld you with a degree of aversion, which nothing could appease, you would in that case, I have no doubt, retire and shun their sight. At present, your country, the common parent of us all, fears and detests you; she considers you as the worst of parricides, a pernicious traitor, who have long been brooding over scenes of blood and desolation: and will you not respect her authority? not submit to her judgment? not yield to her lawful power?

Her very silence is eloquent, and thus she reasons with you:

“ There has not been for several years a crime  
 “ or a flagitious deed committed without your  
 “ participation: yours was the head to plan, or  
 “ yours

“ yours the hand to execute. Your sword has  
 “ been glutted with the blood of Roman citizens;  
 “ the provinces have been plundered by your rapa-  
 “ city ; and yet all, all has passed without so much  
 “ as an inquiry into your conduct ; as if you had  
 “ a privilege to be a villain with impunity. By  
 “ you the tribunals of justice have been silenced;  
 “ by you the laws have been abolished. Those  
 “ grievances called aloud for redress, and yet I  
 “ endured them all. But to be for ever in dread  
 “ of your horrible designs ; in every sudden com-  
 “ motion to start and tremble at the name of Ca-  
 “ tiline ; in every treason to find you the grand  
 “ contriver of all ; it is more than I can bear ;  
 “ these repeated alarms are insupportable. I  
 “ command you, therefore ; to retire ; depart from  
 “ the city, and appease my fears ; if they are well  
 “ founded, that I may avoid calamity and ruin ;  
 “ if false, that I may cease to live in misery.”

Such is the language of your country : and  
 ought not her sacred voice, even if she had not  
 power to enforce it, to have due weight with you ?  
 with you, who have offered to surrender yourself a  
 voluntary prisoner ? To remove all cause of sus-  
 picion, you were willing to commit yourself to  
 the custody of Marcus Lepidus ; rejected by him,  
 you had the hardiness to address yourself to me ;  
 you petitioned to be a prisoner in my house : and  
 what was my answer ? I told you, that not  
 thinking



thinking myself safe within the walls of the same city, I would not live under one roof with you. You then applied to Quintus Metellus, the prætor, and, meeting with a repulse, you had recourse to your friend Marcus Marcellus, persuaded, as we must suppose, that he would have vigilance to watch your motions; sagacity to discover your secret machinations; and resolution to oppose your projects. And now I desire to know, when a man has confessed that he ought not to be suffered to go at large, is it not high time to send him loaded with fetters to a dungeon?

This, Catiline, is the state to which you have reduced yourself: and since you cannot with any degree of comfort reside any longer among us, will it not be prudent to seek some foreign land, where you may hide your head in solitude, and protract a life, which has been long since forfeited to the justice of your country? To this you answer, “move the question; put it to the vote of the Fathers; and if they order you into banishment, you are ready to obey their decree.” I will make no such motion; it is contrary to my way of thinking. But still you shall know the sentiments of this assembly: “Go, Catiline, withdraw from the city of Rome; go, and deliver us from our fears; depart at once, and, if you expect the word, go into banishment.”

How!

How! do you hesitate? Observe the solemn taciturnity of this august assembly; the Fathers hear me; they are silent; they acquiesce. Do you expect the form of words? their consent emphatically condemns you.

Were my discourse directed in the same strain to that excellent youth, Publius Sextius, or to that illustrious citizen, Marcus Marcellus, the Fathers would revolt against such presumption, and even in this temple, forgetting the sanctity of the place, rise in a body against their consul. With regard to you, Catiline, they are impressed with very different sentiments; while they remain quiet, they approve; while they hear me with patience, they decree; while they are silent, they proclaim aloud.

You perceive the sentiments of this illustrious order, whose authority you affect to reverence, while your poniard thirsts for their blood. But it is not here alone that you stand condemned: the Roman knights, a brave and generous band, and those worthy citizens who guard the avenues of the temple, are all of one mind. You have seen their numbers, and their ardour in the cause of their country: you heard their acclamations. It is with difficulty that I have restrained them from an act of immediate justice; but they are still under my influence; leave the city, and I will answer that they shall conduct you to the gates.

But

But wherefore do I thus expostulate with you? that you should change your purpose, and retire to solitude, is more than I have reason to expect. May the gods inspire you with such a resolution! As to myself, should you take my advice, and go into voluntary exile, I know that a storm of ill-will and calumny will be ready to burst upon me; not, perhaps, in the present juncture, while the public mind still glows with indignation, but in some future period, when no sense of danger remaining, resentment shall have spent its force. Be the consequence what it may, let the constitution stand, I am prepared for the worst calamity. But that your conscience should reproach you; that you should bend to the authority of the laws; that you should relent in favour of your country; these are things foreign to your heart. You are not the man whom a sense of honour can reform, whom danger can deter, whom reason can reclaim from madness.

And yet I repeat my advice; go forth, and quit the city. If I am, as you frequently declare, your implacable enemy, go into voluntary exile, and by that step revenge your cause. If you comply, a load of obloquy will fall on me; when the public are informed, that the consul drove you into banishment, the clamour will be loud and violent. But if you rather chuse to add new glory to my name, go with the dregs and refuse  
of



of your desperate gang; proceed to the Manlian camp; muster all your forces; renounce the society of honest men; declare an impious war against your country; let Italy be deluged with blood, and shew yourself in your true colours, not as a man cast out by the consul, but a rebel chief invited by his crew of incendiaries.

But wherefore do I recommend this measure? you have already taken your resolution; you have sent forward an armed force to meet you at the village called Forum Aurelium. I know that you have fixed your day with Manlius; I know that you have sent forward your silver eagle, which, I trust, will prove fatal to you and yours; that boasted eagle, to which you raised an altar, and offered impious rites in your sacrilegious chapel. Follow it; you cannot live without it; it was the idol of your superstitious worship as often as you went on a desperate enterprise. The same hand that offered incense to your new divinity, was in a short time red with the blood of your fellow-citizens.

I know you will pursue your intended plan; you will go where your frantic fury leads the way; you leave nothing here to regret; your enterprise will be the delight of your heart. Wild commotion is your element; your nature formed you for it; your inclination trained you to it; your fate has reserved you for it. Neither repose, nor even  
war,

war, could minister to your pleasure, unless they were both endeared by a mixture of guilt and horror. At length your utmost wish is gratified; you have an army made up of the scum of Rome and Italy; a set of wretches reduced to beggary, and destitute of hope. What a scene of delight for a mind like yours! In that society you may exult with joy and rapture, unmolested by the appearance of a single virtue, without so much as one honest man to grate your ear; not one to shock your sight. The labours of your life, those famous labours for which your name is so much celebrated, have prepared and hardened you for your present undertaking. You have been in the habit of lying on the bare ground, sometimes to commit a rape, at others to wait in ambush for your prey, to take advantage of an unsuspecting husband, or to plunder your neighbour. Your present enterprise will call forth all your boasted vigour; your patience of cold, of hunger, and want of every kind. But your fortitude, I trust, will soon be conquered. The victory which I gained, by defeating your hopes of the consulship, has this advantage; in the character of consul you will not be able to oppress your country; your project must be the frantic effort of a man proscribed. It cannot be called a war; it will be the desperate attempt of a robber and a murderer.

Permit

Permit me now, conscript Fathers, to obviate the complaints which may be urged against me. I request your serious attention; hear my sentiments, and give them a place in your memory. I will suppose my country, which I hold dearer than my life; I will suppose all Italy, and the commonwealth, all with one voice accosting me in terms like these:

“ Review your conduct, Marcus Tullius, and  
 “ consider well the part you now are acting. You  
 “ have before you a man, whom you know to be  
 “ a public enemy; who is preparing to take the  
 “ field at the head of hostile numbers; who is  
 “ hourly expected in the camp to take upon him  
 “ the command; a man who planned the black  
 “ conspiracy; who designs to raise an insurrection  
 “ of the slaves, and invites a crew of abandoned  
 “ citizens to his standard: and will you permit  
 “ the traitor to go forth unmolested, not as if  
 “ expelled from the city, but sent to return in  
 “ force, and take it by assault? will you not rather  
 “ seize his person, load him with irons, and order  
 “ him to instant execution, a victim to the justice  
 “ of his country? Say, what is your motive?  
 “ what restrains you? you cannot plead ancient  
 “ usage; traitors, it is well known, have been  
 “ often put to death, even by private citizens,  
 “ without the sanction of public authority. The  
 “ laws, that regulate the punishment of Roman  
 “ citizens,



“ citizens, afford you no apology; a traitor has  
 “ no rights; he is no longer a citizen. Do you  
 “ dread the reproaches of posterity? that excuse  
 “ will ill become a new man, who brought with  
 “ him no credentials from his ancestors, but by  
 “ his own genius forced himself into notice; who  
 “ has passed with a rapid progress through the  
 “ gradations of the magistracy, and by the suf-  
 “ frages of the people has been raised to the highest  
 “ office in the state. And will you, after so many  
 “ favours conferred upon you, will you now shrink  
 “ from the cause of your country? shall the fear  
 “ of censure, or of danger, alienate your heart  
 “ from the commonwealth? it were the worst in-  
 “ gratitude. If fear is to operate, which do you  
 “ think is most to be dreaded, reproach for  
 “ cowardice, or censure for magnanimity? when  
 “ Italy is laid waste; when her cities are taken  
 “ by storm; when her temples and mansions are  
 “ wrapt in flames; it is then your danger will be-  
 “ gin; it is then that the clamours of mankind  
 “ will be loud against you.”

To those complaints of my country, to her sa-  
 cred voice, and to all who reason in the same way,  
 my answer shall be short. If I could persuade  
 myself, conscript Fathers, that the death of Cati-  
 line would close the scene, that impious gladiator  
 should not live an hour. If the illustrious charac-  
 ters of a former day were not disgraced, but, on  
 the

the contrary, honoured and ennobled for the spirit that dared to shed the blood of Saturninus, of Flaccus, and the Gracchi, with many others recorded in history; with that precedent before me, I could have no reason to fear; that for the execution of a traitor and a parricide I should stand condemned by the voice of posterity: But let me add, were the severest censure to be the certain consequence, it has ever been my settled opinion, that reproach, when earned by virtue, is not reproach, but the truest glory.

Yet even now, in this very assembly, there are senators, and those not a few, who do not see the impending danger; or, seeing it, think proper to disguise their sentiments. (*FF*) By specious moderation they have pampered the hopes of Catiline, and, affecting to think my fears no more than a false alarm; they favoured the conspiracy in its birth. By their example numbers have been influenced; the evil-minded raised a spirit of discontent, and the weak joined in the clamour. All of that description would be ready to pronounce the death of Catiline the act of a violent and arbitrary consul. But, should the traitor pursue his design, and join Manlius in his camp, it will then be evident that treason has been at work. There will be none so blind as not to perceive it; no man so profligate as not to acknowledge it.

(*FF*) Note 30.

Were I to pronounce judgment of death, what advantage could accrue to the state? by that measure the conspiracy would be suppressed, not radically cured. But now, should Catiline rush into open war; should he order his crew of adherents to follow in his train; should he draw to his camp a general conflux of the vile and profligate, we shall be able in that case, not only to crush his frantic insurrection, but the very roots of discord will be torn up; the seed-plots of rebellion will be destroyed.

The conspiracy, conscript Fathers, has grown by degrees to its present maturity; but by what fatality the whole collected force of guilt, and rage, and madness, has been reserved for my consulship, it is impossible for me to decide. This, however, is certain; were the leading traitor cut off from that detestable league, our wounds might seem to be bound up, but they would be bound up to open again, and bleed afresh. The poison would be left rankling in the vitals of the commonwealth. As men in a fever seem by a draught of water to allay the violence of their disorder, but soon find it more inflamed than ever, so the danger that threatens the state might subside for a short interval, soon to break out again with redoubled fury.

For these reasons, conscript Fathers, let the evil-minded depart at once; let them separate themselves



selves from honest men; let them appear in open arms; let the walls of Rome divide us; let them cease to besiege your consul in his own house; to surround the tribunals of justice with a band of ruffians; let them no longer invest the senate with their armed assassins, and prepare their combustibles for a general conflagration: in a word, let the public mind be known, and let the sentiments and wishes of all upright citizens be legible in their countenances. Thus much, conscript Fathers, I will venture to promise; you may rely upon the vigilance of your consuls: with the authority of this order; with the zeal and activity of the Roman knights; with the spirit of union that pervades and animates all honest men, I here undertake, that, as soon as Catiline shall retire, the whole of his impious project shall be laid open, exposed to public view, confounded, and duly punished.

For these reasons, Catiline, I once more warn you to withdraw; go with these sure presages of public peace and security; with these omens of ruin to your cause, and the total overthrow of your desperate partizans; go forth at once, proceed to your camp, and wage an impious war against your country.

And thou, O Jupiter! whose religious rites were established by Romulus, coeval with the foundation of Rome; thou, whom we truly call

**Stator**, the prop and preserver of the constitution; thou, our guardian deity! thou wilt drive this traitor from thy sacred altars; from the temples of the gods; from the walls of Rome; from the lives and fortunes of the people; and let thy awful justice fall on the enemies of all good men, on the plunderers of Italy, on the detestable crew who are now combined in an impious league against their country; exterminate the whole race, and in this world and the next pursue them with eternal vengeance.

THE  
SECOND ORATION OF CICERO  
AGAINST  
C A T I L I N E.

DELIVERED BEFORE AN ASSEMBLY OF THE  
PEOPLE, 9TH NOVEMBER, A. U. C. 690. (GG)

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**A**T length, my fellow-citizens, Lucius Catiline, that nefarious traitor, burning with frantic fury, breathing vengeance and destruction; that public enemy, who meditated the ruin of his country, and threatened this city with sword and fire; that monster of iniquity has sounded his retreat. We have expelled him, or dismissed him, or with the language of indignation have pursued him to the gates. He is gone; he is fled; he has escaped; he has disappeared. (HH) That prodigy of wickedness is no longer harboured within the walls which he meant to level with the ground. The ring-leader of rebellion has yielded without resistance. In the field of Mars, in the forum,

(GG) Note 31.

(HH) Note 32.



in the senate, his dagger will be no longer pointed at our breasts. We shall now be safe in our houses. When he left the city, he fled from his post. We are now at open war with him. When we drove him from his secret machinations, we ruined the man, and obtained a complete victory.

What think you are his reflections now? he is gone in misery of heart, lamenting that he did not carry with him a poniard stained with blood; that we were able to wrest his sword out of his hand; that he had not time to execute a general massacre, and leave the city smoking on the ground. These were the thoughts that distracted him. His cause is ruined; his hopes are blasted; he looks back to the city of Rome, and with a malignant eye surveys the walls which he hoped to level in the dust. But the city has discharged a pestilence, and now enjoys her triumph.

If in this great audience there is a man, who feels, as I hope all do, the love of his country warm at his heart, and if that person condemns my conduct as too remiss, convinced in his own mind, that, instead of conniving at the escape of a traitor, I ought to have secured his person; my answer is, the measure I pursued is not to be imputed to me, but to the times. It is true, that such atrocious guilt deserved the severest sentence; the practice of our ancestors, the spirit of the laws, and the interests of the commonwealth, called  
aloud

aloud for vengeance; but if Catiline had suffered death, how many do you think would have been ready to declare him innocent? how many through weakness would have espoused his cause? how many through wickedness, and with the worst motives, would have stood forth to vindicate his character, and pronounce him an injured man? (II)

Believe me, my fellow-citizens, that if I had reason to think that by Catiline's death I could extinguish the flame of civil discord, the traitor should not have survived to disturb the commonwealth. Neither the fear of censure, nor a regard for my own life, should have restrained the hand of justice. In your cause I was willing to hazard all. But had I acted with due rigour, what would have been the consequence? the proofs of Catiline's guilt were not before you, and, in that case, the malice of my enemies would have put it out of my power to arraign his accomplices. At present, things are brought to this issue: your enemy has reared his standard, and you now may meet him at the head of his lines.

In his present situation, he is not in force to give us any kind of alarm; so far from it, that nothing grieves me so much as the slender train of followers that attended him. Would he had taken with him his whole crew of incendiaries!

(II) Note 33.

he has indeed released me from Tongillus, who in his youth was the favourite object of his master's unnatural passions ; he has removed Publicius and Munatius, two profligate men, whose tavern-bills would have overwhelmed them both in ruin. Without disturbing the public peace, they might have passed away : but who are the men whom he has left in the heart of the city ? they are oppressed with a load of debts ; and yet how great their influence ! how strong their party, and how powerful their connections !

But, my fellow-citizens, when I consider the legions from Gaul, and the levies raised by Quintus Metellus in the territory of Picenum and the adjacent country, the force of the rebels dwindles into nothing. Their army consists of men drooping in years, and driven to despair ; of peasants ruined by idleness and debauchery ; of a wretched crew of bankrupts, who would rather fly from their bail than from the camp. To put them to the rout, the sword of the Roman legions is by no means necessary ; shew them the prætor's warrant, and that object of terror will disperse them all.

Catiline has taken with him the dregs and refuse of his party : I wish he had selected the men who figure in the forum ; who gather in crowds round the senate house, and even enter that august assembly ; who anoint their persons with rich perfumes,



fumes, and flutter about in purple pride; I wish he had led forth all of that description. Should they remain here, it is not in the Manlian camp that we are to look for our most dangerous enemies; they are here at Rome, in the heart of the city; the deserters from the army are the traitors to be dreaded, and the more so, because they know that I am apprised of all their motions, and yet abate nothing of their audacity. I perfectly well know their posts and stations; I know who is to command in Apulia; to whom Etruria is allotted; who is to act in the territory of Picenum; who in Cisalpine Gaul, and who are commissioned to lay waste the city. These men are aware that I have learned by sure intelligence all that passed at their last nocturnal meeting. Yesterday I laid open the whole conspiracy to the senate: Catiline was struck with terror; he betook himself to flight. Why do his accomplices linger here? what hope can they entertain? what do they expect? if they imagine that the lenity which I have hitherto shewn, is to govern my future conduct, they will find themselves in a fatal error.

One main object I had in view, and in that I have succeeded: it is now evident that I have not raised a false alarm; it is evident that a conspiracy was actually formed; (KK) it is evident that the men who are linked with Catiline in every vice,

(KK) Note 34.

are

are also leagued with him in his treasonable practices. There is now no room for gentle measures; the time demands the utmost rigour. One concession, and one only, I am willing to grant to the traitors still lurking among us; let them follow their leader; let them issue forth at once, and not leave their chief to mourn the absence of his friends. I will point out the way they are to take: their master has chosen the Aurelian road; if they travel with expedition, they will overtake him before night.

When the city has vomited forth that horde of traitors, I shall think the commonwealth regenerated: by the expulsion of Catiline alone she seemed to recover health and vigour. For let me ask, is there a vile flagitious deed of which he was not capable? can the heart of man conceive a crime that has not been familiar to a mind like his? Is there in Italy a villain practiced in the trade of poison; is there a gladiator, a robber, or a murderer; is there a parricide, a forger of deeds, a notorious cheat, a lewd adulterer, a ruffian, or an assassin, with whom that monster has not lived in the closest intimacy? Is there an abandoned strumpet, a corrupter of youth, a felon, or a profligate wretch of any kind, who has not been his bosom friend? What murder has been committed without his assistance? what rape, in which he was not either principal or accessory? who has  
 ever

ever had such various talents, so many arts of seduction? He gratified his own unnatural passions, and he pimped for his favourites. He inveigled some young men by the baits of pleasure, and some by the murder of their parents; ever ready with a head to conceive, and a hand to execute any mischief. Hence the number of desperate adventurers, whom in a short time he has mustered together, not only from Rome, but from every part of Italy. There is not a bankrupt in this great city, or throughout the country, whom he has not drawn into the vortex of his desperate politics.

There never was a character composed of such various elements, such opposite and almost incompatible qualities. Chuse in the schools and public spectacles a gladiator of a bold and daring spirit; he is Catiline's intimate friend. Is there on the public stage a comedian of loose and profligate manners? his vices have recommended him to the esteem of Catiline. Though dissolved in luxury amidst his scenes of pleasure and voluptuous riot, this same man, with wonderful patience, could endure hunger and thirst, and cold, and midnight vigils. For this bodily vigour he has been celebrated by his adherents. The truth is, Catiline abused the gifts of nature: he possessed the powers that lead to industry and virtue, but he devoted them to vice and infamy.

If



If his whole crew had followed him; if Rome had disembogued the whole gang, I should then have been able to pronounce you free from danger, and to enjoy the glory of a fortunate consulship.

But vice has gone on with giant strides; the passions of men know no bounds; their crimes are monstrous, and no longer to be endured. They think of nothing but rapine, murder, and desolation. They have consumed their patrimony; their fortunes are wasted; they have neither money nor credit; and yet, when the means have failed, they still retain a rage for riot and debauchery. But if debauchery and the gratification of inordinate desires had been their only object, they might still deserve some lenity; their gaming-tables, their banquets, and their harlots might be in some degree forgiven: the men, it is true, would have been lost to every virtue, but the commonwealth would have been safe. The case is now very different: that cowards should lie in ambush for the brave; that fools should lay snares for the wise and good; that sots and drunkards should plot against the sober, and sluggards combine against the vigilant; this who can bear? And it is by such despicable traitors that the city is thrown into consternation; by a set of abandoned wretches, lolling at ease on their convivial couches, caressing their strumpets, intoxicated with liquor, crowned with garlands, sweetened with perfumes, and enervated

vated by their vicious pleasures. Men of that description take upon them to reform the state; over their cups they disgorge their treasonable designs, and in bitter execrations devote us all to destruction.

But their own fate, I trust, is now approaching: their hour draws nigh, and they will shortly pay the forfeit of their crimes. Though my consulship has not the power to work a reformation, yet by exterminating the whole seditious crew, I shall be able to heal our wounds; and from that æra the commonwealth will be revived, not for a short interval, but for ages to come. A prospect of uninterrupted tranquillity lies before us: no foreign nation gives us jealousy; nor is there a king who can venture to stand the hazard of a war. By the virtue and warlike genius of one commander, peace is established by sea and land. Our only danger is at home; treason lurks within our walls; the enemy is in the heart of the city. Luxury, villany, and madness, are the foes we are to encounter. In such a war, my fellow-citizens, I offer to be your leader. The malice of desperate men has no terror for me. Whatever admits a remedy, my care shall heal it. What is unsound shall be cut away, not suffered to rankle in the veins of the commonwealth. Let our enemies, therefore, depart in time; or, if they will remain among us, let them remain in peace. By wilful obstinacy

obstinacy they are sure to provoke the vengeance due to their crimes.

It has been said, and you no doubt have heard, that Catiline is banished by my order. My answer is, if a word from me could bring about such an event, I should, without hesitation, banish the authors of that report. According to them, Catiline is a man of timid modesty; the consul's voice was too much for his tender frame; he heard the word of command, and obeyed it. But how stands the fact? Yesterday morning, having narrowly escaped the danger of the assassins, who came to murder me in my bed, I convened the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and before that august assembly laid open the whole conspiracy. Catiline came to the meeting: not one senator rose to salute him. All eyes were fixed upon him; all beheld him, I will not say, as a bad citizen, but as a public enemy, and the worst of traitors. As he advanced to take his seat, the principal senators rose at once, and left the benches empty.

In that moment I rose to speak my sentiments. The cruel and overbearing consul, who by a single word can send a Roman citizen into exile, addressed himself to Catiline. I asked him, whether he had not held a midnight meeting at the house of Marcus Lecca? Intrepid as he is, his courage failed him; the power of conscience was too



too great; he made no answer. I proceeded to give the Fathers a detail of the facts; I stated the transactions of that night, the places he visited, the business reserved for the following night, and the whole plan of his warlike preparations. He was abashed; confounded, unable to utter a word. I desired to know what detained him from the place to which he had long since resolved to go? I told him that I knew every circumstance; I knew that he had sent forward a quantity of arms, the axis, the fasces, trumpets, colours and standards, with that silver eagle, to which, as to a divinity, he had consecrated a place of worship in his house. And am I now to be told, that the man who was going to put himself at the head of his rash levied numbers, was banished by my order? Are we to believe that Manlius, the centurion, who has pitched his camp near Fesulæ, \* has presumed in his own name to declare war against the Roman people? are we to believe that Catiline is not expected in the camp? are we to suppose, that, being driven into banishment, the unhappy man intends to retire to Marseilles, and there fix his place of residence?

In this medley of reports, what a weight of care falls to the lot of him (*LL*) who undertakes to conduct your affairs! how hard the task not only

\* Fesulæ, near Fiesoli, a city in Tuscany.

(*LL*) Note 35.

of guiding the helm, but, what is more, of preventing a total wreck? Should Catiline, finding himself disabled by my diligence, my councils, my unremitting labours, be struck with sudden terror, and in that state of mind change his purpose, abandon his accomplices, and renounce his frantic projects; should he turn from the road that leads to the camp, and seek a quiet retreat in some distant place; what will then be my situation? what will be the cry of the day? not that he was disarmed, defeated, driven to despair by my vigilance, my unceasing labours, but that an innocent man, unheard and uncondemned, was hurried into banishment by the arbitrary will of an imperious consul. Numbers will be ready to espouse his cause; to declare that there was no conspiracy; to pronounce Catiline an innocent, an oppressed, an injured man, and the consul a cruel and implacable tyrant. (*MM*)

I am prepared, my fellow-citizens, to meet this load of calumny; I can bear it all, if at that price I deliver you from the impending danger. Let it be reported that by my authority he was driven into exile: if he goes thither, I am satisfied. But believe me, he has no such design. For the sake of justifying my conduct, I am incapable of forming a wish that you may hear of him at the head of a rebel army: and yet within three days that

(*MM*) Note 36.

news

news will reach you. It will then be no longer matter of obloquy, that he was banished by my order: men will change their tone, and the reproach will be, that I suffered him to escape.

But since there are those, who in the present state of things make an outcry about banishment, what would be their language had Catiline been put to death? When they tell us that he is gone to seek a retreat at Marseilles, they do not believe the story. They speak their fears, and not their wishes. In the whole number of those who treat his name with so much tenderness, there is not one that would be glad to shelter him in safety at Marseilles; they hope to hear of him in the Manlian camp. Even he himself, if he had not set out with a premeditated design, would scorn to lead a quiet and inglorious life: he would rather die in his vocation, and perish as a robber and a traitor. As matters stand at present, all his projects, except that of general massacre, have succeeded to his wish: then why complain that he is banished? that event were the best that could happen.

But enough has been said of a single enemy; an enemy who avows his treason; an enemy whom I no longer dread, for there is a wall between us. There are other enemies who demand our attention; the concealed enemies, who act in disguise, who still lurk in the city, who mix in our



public meetings; what shall be said of them? To bring them to condign punishment were an act of justice; but I wish rather to reclaim them from their madness: I would, if possible, recall them to a sense of their duty. If they will take my advice, they still may see their error. To this end, my fellow-citizens, I will give you in the truest colours, a picture of the men who compose their faction. When they have all passed in review before you, I will then point out the cure of their phrenzy, and to enforce it, will exert my best endeavours.

The first class consists of men who are encumbered with debts, but still have vast possessions. To exonerate themselves, they are not willing to sell any part of their lands; such is the vanity of having a large estate. In the whole body of disaffected citizens, these are the men who make the most specious appearance; they are rich, but void of principle; they are seditious, and their motive is infamous. Deluded men! you have extensive lands, magnificent villas, a splendid display of plate, a grand retinue, with all the elegancies of life; and will you not sell a part, in order to add to your credit? What are your hopes? what do you expect? you pant for war and civil commotions: and do you imagine, that, in a scene of carnage and devastation, your possessions will stand secure? Perhaps a sponge to wipe away all debts,

debts, is what you want ; that you will never obtain from Catiline. A law to regulate matters between debtor and creditor will probably be enacted at my recommendation, but it will be with a clause, directing a sale by auction of part of your estates, in order to satisfy your creditors. By this expedient, and this only, the men of great possessions will be saved from ruin. Had they adopted this plan in time, instead of struggling to support a load of incumbrances, they would now be richer men, and better citizens. But, in fact, the danger from that quarter gives me no alarm ; they may see reason to be reconciled to their country ; if not, their treason will evaporate in wishes for the success of our enemies : they will never venture to appear in arms.

The second class consists of men of ruined fortunes, and, at the same time, vast ambition. They aim at power, and vainly hope, amidst the distractions of their country, to rise to dignities, which in quiet times are out of their reach. The advice which I give to all, is the best these men can follow : let them desist from their vain pursuit : their wishes will never be accomplished. My care, my vigilance, my exertions, will frustrate their dark designs. The number of upright citizens now in Rome is a tower of strength ; all honest men are combined against them ; one mind pervades them all ; they are ready to stand forth

in the cause of their country—one head, one heart, one hand. We have numerous armies in the field, and the gods are on our side. The gods, I trust, the immortal gods will look down propitious on this victorious nation, this flourishing empire, this magnificent city, the capital of the world. And after all, if the rebels could carry their point, what do these men propose to themselves? Do they hope from the ashes of the city, and a scene of blood and carnage, to spring up consuls, dictators, or kings? Have they not the sense to see, that, in a convulsion of the state, the supreme authority must vest at last in some upstart slave, or some abandoned gladiator? (NN)

A third class is composed of men advanced in years, but inured to hardship, and still retaining the vigour of robust constitutions. Such is Manlius, who now resigns the command of his army to Catiline. The colonies, which Sylla planted at Fesulæ, are the founders of this race of malcontents; a race, I verily believe, composed at first of worthy citizens, who were unhappily undone by prosperity. They found themselves enriched beyond their hopes, and soon exhausted their substance in vice and prodigality. In their day of wealth and grandeur, they had a taste for building; they adorned their villas; they enlarged their domains; they made a figure with their

(NN) Note 37.

train



train of servants, with their splendid equipages, and their carousing banquets. By this course of life they involved themselves in debt, and now, to relieve their wants, they must recall Sylla from his grave. These men hope to renew their scenes of plunder, and by magnificent promises, have drawn over to their party a poor and ignorant rabble of deluded peasants. But I warn them not to think of dictators and proscriptions. The days of Sylla will return no more. (OO) In those distracted times the commonwealth bled at every vein; her wounds are not yet closed; and such is the impression on the public mind, that an attempt to recall those scenes of horror, would rouse the indignation of all honest men. The very beasts of the field, I am bold to say, would not endure it.

The fourth class is a motley crew of turbulent men, long since undone beyond the reach of redemption; men, who by their folly, by inattention to their business, and by their extravagance, involved themselves in deep distress, and now, grown weary of suits at law, of judgments and executions, fly from the city, and all quarters of the country, to find a sanctuary in the rebel camp. I cannot call them soldiers; they are bankrupts who have fled from their bail. If they cannot maintain themselves, let them fall victims to their own folly; but let them fall in silence,

(OO) Note 38.

unknown to the public, unfelt by their neighbours. If they cannot live in splendour, why should they chuse to die with infamy? Why should they think it less painful to perish amidst heaps of their slaughtered countrymen, than to die alone, obscure and unlamented?

In the fifth class may be reckoned the whole tribe of parricides, assassins, common stabbers, and villains of every denomination. I do not wish to recall them from Catiline's banners; they are too closely connected. Let them perish in their desperate enterprise: our prisons are not large enough to contain them.

I come in the sixth place to Catiline's favourite friends, his select companions. They are the last in my list, and for their vices the last of mankind. The whole class is easily known; you see them fluttering with their hair in ringlets, and their beards, if any they have, neatly trimmed; with sleeves to their tunics, and, instead of the Roman gown, with robes almost transparent. Their lives are spent in luxurious indolence; the only fatigue they know, is that of sitting up all night in convivial riot. In this society are included the whole race of gamblers, sharpers, lewd adulterers, and the profligate of every description. Delicate as they are, to love and be loved, to dance and sing is not their only accomplishment: they know the use of the poniard, and they can drug the bowl.

bowl. If this whole crew is not exterminated, Catiline will fall in vain; there will be still at Rome a Catilinian seminary. But what do these men intend? do they mean to conduct their harlots to the camp? in these bleak and dreary nights their ladies may be necessary: without their company, the frost and snow of the Appenine may be too much for delicate constitutions. But, perhaps, they think themselves able to endure the rigour of the season: they have danced naked at their carousing festivals, and by that exercise their bodies may be hardened. The war, it must be acknowledged, has a formidable appearance, when with such men the commander in chief has formed his prætorian band.

And now, my fellow-citizens, since we see the strength of the enemy, let us review the forces of the commonwealth, and the garrisons and armies which she has ready to take the field against Catiline and his gallant troops. In the first place, oppose your consuls and your generals to a maimed, a worn-out, a superannuated gladiator. Draw forth your hardy veterans, and the flower of Italy, against a wretched crew of miserable debtors. You have strong-holds and fortified municipal towns, while Catiline must take shelter behind his woods, and ramparts of sod thrown up in a tumultuary manner. But why should I compare your legions and your vast resources with the rash levies of a despe-



rate adventurer? We have on our side, the senate, the Roman knights, the people of Rome, the treasury, the revenues of the state, the hearts and hands of all Italy, the provinces, and all foreign nations : but, waving all these advantages, let us attend to the motives that animate both parties, and we shall clearly see the abject condition of the enemy, and our own superiority. We have on our side virtue and modesty ; in the adverse camp they have folly and indolence ; here is purity of manners, there the vilest profligacy ; here integrity and good faith, there fraud and villany ; here piety, there every kind of guilt ; here constancy and unshaken courage, there rage and madness ; on this side honour, on that the basest infamy ; here moderation, there unbridled fury ; here equity, temperance, fortitude, every virtue against iniquity, luxury, rashness, and every crime. In a word, wealth is at war with poverty ; reason with madness ; wisdom with folly, and well-founded hope with deep despair. In such a contest, even if the zeal of man should fail, the immortal gods will interpose, and by their awful dispensation, grant to so many virtues a decided victory over such a collection of the most detestable vices.

In this situation of affairs, all that remains on your part, my fellow-citizens, is, as I have already told you, to watch and guard your own habits.

tations. For the peace and good order of the city effectual measures have been already taken. The colonies and municipal towns are, by my direction, informed of Catiline's flight, and consequently will be on their guard against any sudden attack. The gladiators, whom Catiline considered as his best soldiers, and firmly attached to his interest, shall not be allowed to join him. They are honest men, and better affected than some patricians whom I could name; but still I think it right to watch them with a jealous eye. Foreseeing many events that have occurred, I concerted my measures in time, and sent Quintus Metellus to take upon him the command in the territory of Picenum, and Cisalpine Gaul. Every thing will be secured in that quarter: that officer will be able either to give the traitor a total overthrow, or to watch his motions, and counteract all his attempts. And now, in order to arrange, and expedite whatever may be necessary, I am going to confer with the conscript fathers, who, as you perceive, are already assembling.

With regard to the men whom Catiline has left behind him, charged with the execution of his horrid purpose, though they are now pernicious traitors, yet since they were born citizens of Rome, they have been hitherto treated with lenity. I have given them my best advice, and am still willing to repeat it. The moderation with  
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which I have acted, I know has been censured as weakness on my part; but I would have those men understand, that what may have seemed remissness, was policy in disguise, and had for its object a full discovery of the whole conspiracy. But there is now no time to be lost: I neither can, nor will, forget that this is my country; that I am your consul, and that I must either live with you, my fellow-citizens, or perish in your cause. No sentinel is stationed at the gates; no guard is placed in ambush on the high roads; all who chuse to withdraw themselves, may go unmolested: but if I find the smallest stir in the city; if an attempt is made against the public peace; the author of the first commotion shall know to his cost that Rome is provided with vigilant and active consuls; with upright magistrates; with a firm and vigorous senate: it shall then be known, that we have a sufficient force under arms, and a jail provided by our ancestors for the punishment of detected guilt.

In the conduct of this business, rely, my fellow-citizens, upon my care: no tumult, no alarm shall be excited. The most important measures shall be executed with perfect tranquillity; the greatest dangers shall be repelled without noise or uproar; an intestine war, the most horrible that ever happened in the memory of man, shall be ended by a city magistrate, by your consul in his gown.



gown. I will farther add, that if I am able to accomplish my own design, not one of the guilty shall suffer, within the precinct of the city, the punishment due to his crimes. But should any man be hardy enough to provoke his fate; should the magnitude of the danger press too strongly, I shall then renounce all lenient measures; but I still promise you, however difficult it may be in a conspiracy so foul and dangerous, that not one honest citizen shall be injured. By the punishment of a few, all shall be saved from destruction.

When I make these ample promises, I do not rely on the prudence of my own administration, nor on the wisdom of human councils; I rely on the protection of the immortal gods, who by unerring signals have declared their awful dispensations. Their gracious providence has guided all my measures, and now inspires me with becoming confidence. The gods assist us, not, as formerly, at a distance, when we were engaged with foreign enemies; they are present; they watch over the city; they hover over their temples; they protect your buildings, and your houses.

It is therefore now your duty, my fellow-citizens, to offer up your homage, and with prayers and humble supplications to implore the holy powers above, since it was their will to make  
Rome

Rome the most grand and flourishing city in the known world ; since they have enabled us to subdue our enemies by land and sea, that they may now protect their own holy work from the sacrilegious hands of cruel and unnatural citizens.

THE  
THIRD ORATION OF CICERO

AGAINST

CATILINE.

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE, 3D DECEMBER,  
A. U. C. 690. (PP)

**T**HIS day, my fellow-citizens, this very day beholds you all in a state of perfect safety: this day beholds the commonwealth, your lives and liberties, your houses and your effects, your wives and children, delivered from impending ruin. This flourishing city, the seat of empire, snatched, as I may say, from sword and fire, is now restored to you by the special protection of the immortal gods, and, under their guardian care, by the labours, the vigilance, and the councils, which, at the peril of my life, I have exerted in your service.

From this event you will reckon as from a new æra; for it is undoubtedly true, that the day on

(PP) Note 39.

which



which we are rescued from calamity, is more dear and precious than the day of our birth: we feel our preservation with joy and gratitude, but we come into the world upon precarious and uncertain terms; we are born without any sense of the advantage, but we are saved when we know the value of the blessing; we enjoy it, we reflect upon it with delight and rapture. Our ancestors, acting with motives of love and gratitude, assigned to Romulus, the founder of the city, a place among the immortal gods; and will it be too much, if I presume to hope, that he who saved that city in all its pride and grandeur, may be honoured with applause by the present age, and remembered with gratitude by posterity? The flames that threatened to involve in one general conflagration the domes and temples, the walls and buildings of this imperial city, I can say with truth, have been extinguished by me; the swords that were drawn against the commonwealth, have been wrested from the hands of desperate men; and the dagger that was pointed at your throats, is now blunt and useless.

The particulars of this horrible conspiracy have been laid before the senate. (QQ) It is now fit that I explain to you how the plot was brought to light, and by what proofs established beyond the possibility of a doubt. Your impatience to know

(QQ) Note 40.

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the whole is natural: I will endeavour, therefore, to give you a succinct, but full detail. You will then be able to judge of the magnitude of the danger, and the evidence that lays open a scene of the blackest villany.

In the first place, when I compelled Catiline to leave the city (I say compelled him, for I am not now afraid of using the expression; I am more afraid of censure for having suffered him to depart alive)—but I repeat my words, when I compelled him to leave the city, I had no doubt but his confederates would follow him; or, if they remained behind, I was sure that, in the absence of their chief, their efforts would be weak and ineffectual. I was in some sort disappointed: the worst and vilest of his train continued to lurk among us. The time was big with danger: I remained like a sentinel at his post; I watched the motions of the conspirators, and night and day exerted my utmost efforts to gain sure intelligence of their actions, and to unravel their dark designs. Without proof of their guilt, I knew that all I could say would make no impression; the magnitude of the crime surpassed all belief: but the treason is now unmasked; it is detected; it is confirmed by undoubted evidence; the danger is manifest, and to provide against it is your business and your duty.

The

The steps that led to a full discovery were these: being informed that Lentulus had been tampering with the Allobrogian deputies, (*RR*) in order to excite commotions in Gaul, and involve us in a Transalpine war; and having further learned, that those deputies, on their way to their own country, were to have a conference with Catiline, in order to ratify the treaty; and that Volturcius, a man entrusted with letters and instructions for Catiline, was to conduct them to the meeting; I then conceived, that what I had often devoutly requested of the gods, was at length in my power. I seized the opportunity to collect such undeniable facts, as would not only satisfy myself, but also place the conspiracy in the clearest light before the senate, and the people of Rome.

With that intent, I yesterday sent for the prætors, Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pomptinus, two excellent citizens; both distinguished by their courage and their zeal in the cause of their country. I held a conference with them; I explained my design; they undertook to execute it. Towards the close of day they set out with secrecy for the Milvian bridge. (*SS*) At that place they divided their force, and placed their men in ambush on each side of the Tiber. They had with them a strong and resolute party. They were re-

(*RR*) Note 41.(*SS*) Note 42.

inforced



inforced, by my orders, from the district of Reate, by a band of brave young men, whom I have often employed in sudden exigencies. About the end of the third watch, the Allobrogian deputies, with a train of attendants, appeared on the bridge. Volturcius was their guide. They were attacked without delay; swords were drawn on both sides, and a conflict began, when the two prætors, who alone were entrusted with the secret, shewed themselves at the head of their men. The combat ceased, the letters, with the seals unbroken, were delivered to Flaccus and Pomptinus; the deputies were seized, and at the dawn of day conducted to my house.

As soon as they arrived, I sent to Gabinius, that busy agent in this scene of iniquity, and desired to see him, ignorant and unsuspecting, before he could hear what had happened. I likewise invited Lucius Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus. The two first came without delay, but Lentulus was slow and lazy; most probably, because he had been up the greatest part of the night, not, indeed, engaged in his usual manner, but busy in writing letters, and sending dispatches to his friends.

In a short time afterwards, several eminent and illustrious citizens, who had heard the news, paid me a morning visit. They were all of opinion, that it would be right to open the letters, and be

sure of the contents, before I produced them to the senate. If nothing of moment appeared, they thought the city ought not to be alarmed. I did not comply with their advice. In a crisis of public danger, it appeared to me that all documents ought to be, in the first instance, examined by the great council of the state. Should my intelligence want confirmation, even in that case I saw no reason to apprehend, that care and diligence in such a conjuncture would be liable to reproach. (TT) I determined, therefore, to convene the senate. The Fathers, as you might observe, came to a full meeting. In the mean time, by the advice of the deputies from Gaul, I sent that excellent man, Caius Sulpicius, the prætor, to search the house of Cethegus, and bring away all the arms he could find. He seized a quantity of swords and daggers. (UU)

Volturcius was the first witness whom I cited to the bar of the senate. The Gauls were not then called in. By order of the Fathers, I informed Volturcius that he might rely on the public faith, and with perfect security disclose all he knew. The man was covered with confusion, but as soon as he was able to collect himself, he confessed that he had letters from Lentulus to Catiline, and also verbal instructions, urging the rebel chief to arm the slaves, and advance by rapid marches to the

(TT) Note 43.

(UU) Note 44.

gates of the city, to the end, that when the conflagration and a general massacre began, according to the plan that had been settled, he might be on the spot to intercept all who endeavoured to save themselves by flight, and co-operate with his brave associates within the walls of Rome.

The Gauls were then introduced and examined. They informed the house, that Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius bound themselves by an oath to perform their engagement, and at the same time charged them with letters to the Allobrogian state. They added, that the three conspirators already mentioned, with the concurrence of Lucius Cassius, their associate, required a body of cavalry to be sent without delay into Italy, where they would find the infantry in force to support them. Lentulus, they further told us, confiding in certain Sibylline predictions, and the responses of augurs, (*WW*) did not scruple to assure them, that he was the third Cornelius destined to be the sovereign of Rome, the prophecy being already verified in the persons of Cornelius Cinna and Cornelius Sylla. They added, that Lentulus declared that this year, the tenth from the acquittal of the vestal virgins, and the twentieth from the burning of the capitol, would be the last of the commonwealth. It appeared by the testimony of the same witnesses, that there had been a difference

(*WW*) Note 45.



of opinion between the conspirators, about fixing a day for the execution of their horrible design: Lentulus and his partizans declared for the Saturnalian festival; but to the impatient spirit of Cethegus the interval seemed to be loss of time, and cold delay.

And now, my fellow-citizens, to avoid too minute a detail, I ordered the letters to be produced in regular order, as they were delivered by the respective writers. To Cethegus I shewed his own seal; he acknowledged it. I opened the packet, and read the letter. It was in his own hand-writing, directed to the senate and people of the Allobrogian state, assuring them that he would faithfully perform all his engagements, and, in return, requesting that they would carry into execution what had been promised by their deputies. This made an impression on Cethegus: he had endeavoured at first to varnish over the affair of the daggers found in his house: his answer was, that he had been always curious in the article of good blades and well-wrought weapons. Upon hearing his letter read, he looked abashed, confounded, and dejected; his conscience reproached him inwardly; his heart failed him; he was not able to utter a word.

Statilius was the next that appeared: he acknowledged his hand-writing and his seal. His  
letter

letter was read, in substance the same as the former : he confessed the whole.

I then addressed myself to Lentulus : I shewed him his packet, and asked him if he knew the seal? He owned it to be his. You may well acknowledge it, I told him ; it is a well known seal, the head of your grandfather, that illustrious Roman, whose ruling passion was the love of his country. That image, mute as it is, ought to have deterred you from so black a crime. His letter to the Transalpine state was then read : I asked him what he had to say in his defence? He insisted on his innocence ; but finding himself pressed by the weight of evidence, he rose on a sudden, and asked the Allobrogians, what concern he had with them? and, what business brought them to his house? He put the same question to Volturcius. The deputies, in a tone of firmness, told him at whose request, and on what business they had been frequently at his house. In their turn, they desired to know, whether he had not boasted of his vast expectations from the promise of the Sibylline Oracle? That question touched him to the quick ; and then was seen the power of conscience over a guilty mind ; he might have denied the charge, but, to the surprise of the whole assembly, he acknowledged it. His talents, and his usual flow of words, deserted him at his utmost need. Even his usual effron-

tery, unequalled as it was, afforded him no relief; he sunk under the weight of detected guilt.

Volturcius, in that moment, called for the letter which he had received from Lentulus to be delivered to Catiline, and desired that it might be read. Lentulus seemed thunderstruck by this unexpected demand, and in his confusion owned both his hand-writing and his seal. No name was subscribed: the letter was in these words:—

*“ Who I am that now write to you, you will know  
 “ from the bearer. Remember that your affairs are  
 “ now brought to a crisis, and never forget what be-  
 “ comes a man of valour. Consider well your re-  
 “ sources; avail yourself of all whom you can allure  
 “ to your standard, and do not despise the assistance of  
 “ the meanest.”*

Gabinus was the last in order: he set out with undaunted assurance, but in the end confirmed all that had been stated by the Allobrogians.

And thus, my fellow-citizens, the proofs against these men rise to demonstration; their letters, their hand-writing, their seals, their own confession, all things conspire to establish their guilt: and yet to my apprehension there were circumstances still more convincing: the looks of the men, their change of colour, the cast of their eyes, their air, and mien, and their sullen silence, deposed against them. Their eyes were rivetted

to



to the ground, except when raised at intervals to survey each other with the stolen glance of natural guilt. Under all those manifest symptoms, they had not the appearance of men brought to their trial on the testimony of others; they looked like traitors to themselves.

The facts being thus laid open, and clearly proved, I thought it time to move the Fathers to take the state of the commonwealth into consideration, and form a resolution suited to so dangerous a crisis. The principal senators spoke their minds with a degree of energy that did them honour. They recommended vigorous measures, and their advice, without variation or amendment, was unanimously adopted. The decree is not yet drawn up in form, but from my memory I will undertake to state it with precision. In the first place, they passed a vote of thanks, in terms highly flattering, to the consul, who by his diligence, his counsels, and his public virtue, saved the commonwealth from ruin. Honourable mention was also made of the two prætors, Flaccus and Pomptinus, who executed their commission with alacrity and vigour. Antonius, my colleague in office, was also commended for the service he had done, by removing from his presence, and from the public councils, all suspected persons. The decree further enacts, that Lentulus, after abdicating the office of prætor, should

be committed to safe custody; and that the like care should be taken of Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, who were all three present at the debate. The same sentence was pronounced against Lucius Cassius, whose madness prompted him to solicit and undertake the charge of setting fire to the city; against Marcus Cæparius, who was commissioned to raise an insurrection in Apulia; against Publius Furius, one of the colony planted by Sylla at Fæsulæ; against Quintus Manlius Chilo, who, in concert with Furius, had negotiated with the Gauls; and finally, against Publius Umbranus, an enfranchised slave, who, as appeared in evidence, was the person that brought the Gallic deputies to their first interview with Gabinius. In the whole of these proceedings the lenity of the senate is remarkable. The Fathers knew that the number of our internal enemies is great, but they were willing to hope, by letting their weight fall on no more than nine, that the example may operate on the minds of the rest, and by consequence extinguish the rebellion.

To all these salutary regulations the Fathers added a clause, ordaining public vows and thanks to the immortal gods for their gracious care of the commonwealth. Upon this occasion they did me particular honour; an honour, I believe, before this time granted to none but military commanders; and never to a civil magistrate in his gown.

gown. The words of the decree are, " That a  
 " public supplication shall be offered to the gods  
 " in my name, " *because I had rescued the city*  
 " *from devouring flames, the citizens from a general*  
 " *massacre, and Italy from the calamities of war.*"  
 It will occur to you, my fellow-citizens, that this distinguished honour was, on former occasions, conferred on men, who with virtue and integrity had governed the state; at present it is granted for saving it.

The next care of the senate was, to take a preliminary step, which appeared to be necessary, and to require their immediate attention. Accordingly, Lentulus, who, on full proof and his own confession, was adjudged to have forfeited the prætorship and the rights of a Roman citizen, was obliged to abdicate his office. The point and spirit of this proceeding was, to shew that the Fathers acted with more caution than Caius Marius, who did not scruple to destroy Caius Glaucia, the prætor, though neither a decree nor a judicial sentence had been pronounced against him. Marius punished a Roman magistrate: Lentulus is reduced to the condition of a private man, and we have no legal objection to embarrass us.

And now, my fellow-citizens, since the leaders in this horrible treason are in safe custody, we may rest assured that the danger is over, and that Catiline will shortly find all his resources cut off,  
 and



and all his hopes utterly defeated. This was the grand object of all my labours. I concluded, that, as soon as Catiline was exterminated, I should then have nothing to fear from the lethargic torpor of Lentulus, the unwieldy corpulence of Cassius, or the headlong rashness of Cethegus. Their chief indeed was to be dreaded. Of all his crew, he, and he only, could keep us in a constant alarm; but that only while he remained within our walls; he knew every thing that passed; he had access to all descriptions of men; he could tempt, invite, solicit, and inveigle, all whom he thought fit for his purposes; and what he could he dared; he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute. He had the exact measure of every man's abilities, and could assign to each his proper station. He thought nothing done, because he had given his orders; he was sure to follow his blow; he acted in person; he watched, he laboured, he saw every thing executed; active, vigilant, indefatigable, and, to a degree almost incredible, patient of cold, and thirst, and hunger.

Such was the man: and if, with all his various talents, his subtle craft, his active spirit, and his genius for mischief, he has not been driven from his post, and forced into open rebellion, I do not think (I speak my mind with freedom) that I should have been able to avert the impending storm:

storm: I should, at least, have found it a difficult task. Catiline would not have deferred the execution of his plot to so distant a time as the Saturnalia; his fatal day would not have been known so long before hand; his seal would not have been produced; nor would he have suffered letters in his own hand-writing to give evidence against him. In his absence all this had been effected; no robbery in a private house was ever brought to light upon such clear, such convincing evidence as this detestable conspiracy.

Had Catiline remained at Rome till this day, though it is true that I had been able, even while he staid among us, to make head against him, and to counteract his measures, yet I cannot help saying, that the struggle would have been attended with difficulties almost insurmountable. The commonwealth, in that case, would have harboured a bosom-traitor, and the convulsion that threatened the state, would not have been prevented with so much ease and tranquillity as we now enjoy.

But the merit of these transactions is not to be ascribed to me. The immortal gods directed all my ways: I was an instrument in their hands. In a crisis big with danger, human wisdom was not equal to the task. A special providence interposed in our favour, and with such manifest signs, that the gods have been almost visible to mortal eyes.

eyes. To say nothing of streams of light in the west, of the broad effulgence of the heavens, of the thunder that shook the firmament, and the earthquake that followed, with all the prodigies that happened during my consulship, as if they were the voice of the immortal gods revealing with awful denunciation the whole train of recent events; I say, my fellow-citizens, though I omit these wonderful occurrences, there is still a fact, which demands your serious attention.

You may remember, during the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, the towers of the capitol struck down by lightning, the images of the gods dashed on the ground, the statues of ancient worthies hurled from their base, and the brazen tables, on which the laws were engraved, reduced to a state of liquefaction. At the same time, the statue of Romulus, the founder of our city, was touched by celestial fire. That statue, as we all remember, stood in the capitol: it represented our ancient hero in the attitude of drawing nourishment from the dugs of a wolf. Upon that occasion the soothsayers were summoned from Etruria. According to them, the several prodigies denounced fire and slaughter, the total overthrow of the laws, civil discord, and all the calamities of war, with the utter ruin of the commonwealth, unless the gods, appeased by prayer and public devotion, should be graciously pleased to extend their mercy to the  
 Roman



Roman empire, and suspend the decrees of fate. In obedience to the augurs, solemn games were instituted for the space of ten days successively. No religious ceremony was omitted. The same interpreters of the will of heaven gave directions, that a statue of Jupiter, of a larger size than the former, should be erected in some conspicuous place, in a position contrary to the last, with its face turned towards the east; and if it was so situated, that it might at once behold the rising sun, the forum, and the senate house: they further declared, that the machinations of internal enemies would be laid open to the Fathers, and the whole body of the people. In conformity to this advice, the consuls of that period gave orders to have the statue prepared, but the work proceeded by such slow degrees, that it was not erected till this very day.

And now let me ask, is there a man so deaf to reason, so blind to truth, so obstinate in error, as not to acknowledge, that this universal frame, and, in particular, this magnificent city, are not under the special care, and the moral government of the gods? for let it be observed, that when the Etrurian soothsayers denounced conflagration and massacre, it was not believed that there existed Roman citizens capable of so vile a treason. The enormity of the crime rendered the prediction altogether incredible. But now, what shall

shall we say, when we see the plot not only formed, but well nigh accomplished? when we reflect, that this morning, as the prisoners passed over the forum in their way to the Temple of Concord, the new statue was erected in that very moment? The hand of Jupiter, supreme of gods, is manifest in this transaction. The prophecy was then fulfilled; the statue surveyed the forum and the senate-house, and, that being accomplished, the conspirators were arraigned, convicted, and ordered into custody.

Things standing thus, what punishment can be too heavy for the unnatural traitors, who combined in an impious league to deluge the city with blood, and set fire to the domes and temples of the immortal gods? As to myself, can I claim the glory of this astonishing discovery? No, my fellow-citizens, it were the height of presumption. It was the all-governing mind, it was Jupiter himself, that brought about this wonderful event. He saved the capitol; he defended his own altars and temples; he protected this great and flourishing city; he shielded us all from ruin and destruction. It was the divine will that guided all my counsels, inspired me with resolution, and furnished me with decisive evidence against the malefactors.

If we attend for a moment to the negotiation with the deputies from Gaul, the finger of providence

dence is visible in all that has happened: for, if Lentulus and his faction had not been by a visitation from the gods deprived of all sense and reason, is it in the nature of things, that, in a business of such importance, they would have committed themselves to strangers and barbarians? would they have hazarded their letters in such hands? And again, what could induce those foreign delegates, the subjects of a disaffected nation, of the only state that has the power, and, perhaps, the inclination to declare war against us; what, I say, could prevail on them to change their minds so suddenly? What could induce them to prefer the safety of Rome to the promise of liberty and independence, with which they were flattered by men of patrician rank? This was the immediate influence of the gods. To conquer the commonwealth, the Allobrogians had no occasion to undertake a war: their silence would have ruined us.

For these reasons, my fellow-citizens, since vows and supplications are by a decree of the senate, to be offered up at all the shrines and altars of the city, go with your wives and children to the several temples, and with becoming ardour celebrate your present felicity. Your homage has been often due to the gods, but never so justly as in the present juncture. You have been saved miraculously, without an army, without bloodshed,



shed, and without a battle. You have had no occasion to change your gowns for the military dress; you have had no general but your consul in his robes of peace; and yet you have triumphed over your enemies.

The danger from which you have been rescued will be seen in its true colours, if we compare it (XX) with former civil commotions. I will not dwell on those which happened before your time; but let us call to mind the troubles which we all have seen, and have reason to remember. Lucius Sylla cut off Publius Sulpicius; he exterminated Caius Marius, who had been the protector of the city; and by his orders numbers of eminent men were either massacred, or driven into banishment. Cneius Octavius, the consul, was at the head of a powerful faction. He expelled his colleague, Cornelius Cinna, by force of arms. In that dreadful commotion, the place where we now are assembled, was deluged with blood, and covered with mangled bodies. Cinna, supported by Marius, conquered in his turn. The best blood in Rome was spilt on that occasion, and the first ornaments of the city fell in the general carnage. Sylla, in a short time afterwards, gained a complete victory, and had his measure of revenge. The horrors of those times may be passed by in silence; they need no description. Fierce

(XX) Note 46.

dissensions broke out between Marcus Lepidas and that illustrious Roman, Quintus Catulus. The former was defeated: he was a man that might be spared; but his friends who perished with him, were a public loss.

In all these convulsions, what was the object of the contending factions? they wished to alter the government, not to destroy it. It was by no means the principle of the leading men that there should be no constitution; they aspired to be at the head of the state, the rulers of the commonwealth. They had no design to fire the city; they desired to be masters of it. In all those distracted times, it is remarkable, that the contest was never ended by a compromise between the parties; it was decided sword in hand by the blood and slaughter of the people. The present war cannot be paralleled in the annals of the world; it is horrible in its nature, and even among barbarians never equalled. In this war Catiline, Lentulus, Cassius, and Cethegus, act on a new principle; they mean to be guided by their own laws; and by their laws, all good citizens who wished well to the constitution of their country, were to be deemed enemies, and put to the sword. In this war, none but those who escaped from the assassin's dagger, were to be left alive; no part of Rome, except what was not devoured by the raging fire, was to be left standing;

and yet against such a combination of enemies it has been my good fortune to protect the city of Rome, and to save you, your wives and children, from destruction.

For these services, the only favour I request of you, my fellow-citizens, is, that this day may stand recorded in your memory. I ask no other honour; that to me will be the best reward, the brightest recompense of virtue, the truest monument of glory. Your hearts are the temples in which I wish to erect all my titles of honour, all my ensigns of triumph, all my trophies of victory. I want no silent statues, no inanimate figures; those vain memorials, which are often obtained, and not always deserved, I resign to others. Mute and insensible matter has no charms for me. Your kind remembrance will give a lustre to my actions; your discourse will be the voice of fame; your annals will consign my name to the latest posterity. One and the same day will make the Roman people and my consulship immortal. Ages yet unborn will hear with pleasure, that the commonwealth had, at one period, two contemporary citizens; one of them destined to make the circuit of the sun the boundary of the empire; the other, to preserve the capitol of the Roman world.

It remains to be observed to you, that the part which I have acted in quelling this intestine war,

is



is very different from the lot of the general who commands your armies abroad. When a foreign war is ended, the officer leaves his enemies either slain or subdued: I must live in the thick of those whose dark designs I have defeated. Your generals reap the fruit of their conquest; that I may not suffer by the victory I have obtained, it will be yours, my fellow-citizens; to provide by your esteem and benevolence. By my unwearied diligence your enemies are crushed; that their malice may never revive against me, you, I trust, will take sufficient care.

But the danger is not great: the friendship of good and honourable men is a certain shield, and with that I am provided. The authority of government will be on my side. Even the worst and most abandoned men are under the controul of their own inward conscience; if, bent on mischief, they endeavour to emancipate themselves, and aim their blow at me, they will find to their cost that they are their own enemies. Besides this, I have resources in my own breast: the courage that inspires, animates, and invigorates my conduct, will never shrink from the menaces of desperate men; on the contrary, I am willing to be at open war with the whole race of pernicious citizens.

But after all, should the malice of traitors, whom I have encountered in your just defence, collect its scattered spirit, and fall with united

force on me alone, it will then be for you, my fellow-citizens, to consider what must be the condition of the generous patriot who may hereafter expose himself to danger on your account.

For myself, what further advantage in life can I now expect, or desire? there is no promotion, no dignity, no reward of virtue to exalt me above the glory of this day. My ambition is satisfied. All that remains on my part, is to take due care that the rest of my life may correspond with the whole tenor of my consulship. If the honour acquired by saving my country should hereafter give umbrage to ill-designing men, their envenomed rancour will disgrace themselves, and add new lustre to my name. As a private citizen, I shall remember the conduct I have held; and it shall be the study of my life to prove, that my actions did not spring from chance, but flowed from an inward source of virtue and public spirit.

And now, my fellow-citizens, since the day is closing fast, it will become you to offer up your grateful homage to Jupiter, the guardian god of this splendid city. As soon as you have performed that act of piety, retire to your respective dwellings, and there, though the danger is now averted, keep guard, and watch with as much diligence as you did on the preceding night. That the same fatigue may be no longer necessary, and that you may for the future live in perfect security, shall be my unceasing care.

THE  
FOURTH ORATION OF CICERO  
AGAINST  
CATILINE.

SPOKEN IN THE SENATE, 5TH DECEMBER,  
A. U. C. 690. (YY)

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**I** SEE, conscript Fathers, all your looks directed this way, and every eye fixed on me. I see the deep concern which you all feel for the state of your country, and, even when the danger shall be removed, I read in all your countenances the kind anxiety with which you are impressed on my account. Your generous friendship touches me nearly, and, in this important moment, administers the most pleasing consolation. But I conjure you, waste not a thought on me; forget my interest, and think only for yourselves, your wives and children.

As to myself, if the terms on which I hold the consular dignity, require that I should drink the

(YY) Note 47.



cup of bitterness; if I am doomed to undergo toil and vexation, pain and peril, I am prepared to meet the worst adversity that can befall me. In your defence I am ready to endure the worst distress, not only with courage, but with alacrity and pleasure; and if by my unwearied labours I am able to restore the dignity of the commonwealth, and the safety of the people, I desire no other recompense.

In me, conscript Fathers, you behold a consul, who in the whole course of his administration has known no place of rest: not even the forum, surrounded, as it is, by the tribunals of justice; not the field of Mars, though consecrated by religious auspices; not the senate, where all nations meet with protection; not my own house, which in common with others ought to be a safe retreat, nor even my bed, the refuge of weary nature; in a word, not this curule chair, the seat of the highest civil honour, has been free from insidious designs against my life.

In that whole time, I have persevered with patience, and with firmness; I have concealed a great deal; I have made concessions to many; I have found a lenitive for your afflictions, and none for my own. But I am satisfied; and should the gods allow to my consulship the glory of redeeming you and the Roman people from fire and devastation, your wives and children, and the vestal virgins,

virgins, from the hands of barbarians; the shrines and temples of this flourishing city from devouring flames, and all Italy from the horrors of a civil war; I say, conscript Fathers, should the gods grant me that special favour, let adverse fortune try me with affliction; I am prepared to bear it all. If Lentulus, relying on the predictions of soothsayers, could presume to boast that his name, by some fatality, was designed to be disastrous to the commonwealth, may not I, in my turn, be allowed to flatter myself, that my consulship, by a contrary destiny, was pre-ordained to save my country from destruction?

In this crisis, conscript Fathers, your own safety demands your care. Defend yourselves and your families; protect your fortunes from rapacious hands; preserve the commonwealth, and the dignity of the Roman name. Be no longer alarmed on my account. The gods, I trust, the guardian gods of Rome will requite my services. If I am doomed to fall a sacrifice in your cause, I am resigned to my fate. To a well-prepared spirit death can never be dishonourable; to a consul never premature; to a wise man it never can be an evil. When I say this, let me not be thought insensible of the touch of nature. I am not so far divested of humanity, as not to be affected by the grief of a beloved and most affectionate brother. The tears of my friends, whom I see mourning round

me, are enough to unman me. I turn my thoughts to my family, and there I see a tender wife overwhelmed with sorrow; a daughter pierced with anguish; and an infant son, whom I consider as an early hostage for my integrity in the hands of the commonwealth. My son-in-law stands here before you, waiting with anxiety the result of this day's debate. All these objects present themselves at once, and weigh upon my heart; but the wish, the ardent wish which they excite, is, whatever shall be my lot, that they may live and flourish long amongst you, and not be doomed to perish with us all in one general wreck.

The conjuncture, conscript Fathers, calls for your utmost vigour: exert your vigilance, to avert the storm that gathers round us. You have not now before you a Tiberius Gracchus, who aspired a second time to make himself tribune of the people; you have not a Caius Gracchus, who endeavoured by seditious insurrections to enforce his Agrarian laws; nor a Lucius Saturninus, by whose order Caius Memmius was put to death; no, conscript Fathers; you are now to pronounce judgment on the insidious traitors who chose to remain at Rome with a fell design to cut all your throats, to reduce the city to ashes, and open the gates to Catiline. Their letters, their hand-writing, their seals, their own confession, all are evidence



gence against them. They tampered with the Gauls; they forced the slaves to rise in arms; they resolved to sheath a dagger in every honest heart, and never to let destruction cease, while a man survived to weep over the ruins of a mighty empire, or lament the utter extinction of the Roman name.

These are the facts now in proof before you: the malefactors are condemned by the judgment you have pronounced; they are traitors on record. When you honoured me with a vote of thanks for the part I have acted; when you ordered Lentulus to abdicate his office; when you committed him and his accomplices to safe custody; and, above all, when by a decree you appointed a supplication to the gods to be celebrated in my name, and thereby conferred on me a public distinction, never before this time granted to any but military men; and finally, when yesterday you granted ample rewards to the Allobrogian deputies, and also to Volturcius; in all those instances you avowed your sentiments, and, in fact, decided against the malefactors now in custody.

But it is my intention to re-consider the whole business, and to state it as a new question, that you may re-judge the fact, and determine the measure of punishment. In doing this, allow me to premise what has occurred to myself, and to lay before you the sentiments, which, in the character

ter of consul, I think it my duty to submit to your consideration.

That the seeds of discontent have been laid by ill-designing men; and that a spirit of innovation has been working in the minds of many, I have perceived for a long time past; but that the latent sparks would rise to a flame like the present, is what I could not foresee. As matters stand at present, you have no time to lose; whatever your resolution may be, pronounce it without delay. Before the night comes on, you must finally determine. The guilt of the conspirators is before you in all its horror; but if you imagine that it extends only to a few, you are greatly deceived. It has spread like a contagion through all Italy; it has passed the Alps, and by imperceptible degrees is now sapping its way through the provinces. Delay and temporizing measures will not suppress the mischief. The treason calls aloud for vengeance; form your resolution, and pronounce it.

Two different opinions have been proposed; one by Decius Silanus, who thinks that the men who combined in a league to overturn our frame of government, and give the citizens of Rome to the sword, ought to be sent to immediate execution; the other, by Julius Cæsar, who objects to capital punishment, but adjudges the criminals to the severest pains and penalties. They both delivered their sentiments in a stile worthy of their  
rank

rank and dignity. Silanus contends, that the unnatural traitors, who intended to destroy this august assembly, to massacre the people, and annihilate the Roman name, ought not to be allowed a single hour to breathe the vital air. This sentence, he has told you, is founded on the usage of our ancestors, who, as it appears by a number of cases and precedents, proceeded with due deliberation, and pronounced judgment of death against all pernicious citizens.

Cæsar, on the other hand, considers death, not as a punishment, but as the natural condition of human life, a relief from pain and misery. (ZZ) Hence it follows, that the wise die contented, and the brave, by their own voluntary act, throw the burthen from them. Chains and perpetual imprisonment appear to him the proper mode of civil policy for the punishment of enormous crimes. He therefore concludes, that the state-prisoners should be confined in separate dungeons in the municipal towns. But this proposition seems to be attended with some difficulty: if by your authority you oblige the municipalities to receive the prisoners, you impose a hardship; if you make it your request, are we sure that they will comply? Should that, however, be the sense of the house, declare it by a decree. I will undertake to carry your commands into execution, and men,

(ZZ) Note 48.

I trust;



I trust, will be found, ready to perform what you think necessary for the public safety.

Cæsar adds a clause, imposing a severe fine on the municipal towns, if any of the prisoners should be suffered to escape. He condemns the malefactors to the horrors of a dungeon, and by various sanctions, severe, it must be allowed, but in such a case highly expedient, he forbids any motion to be made in their favour, either in the senate or before the people. By this measure he takes from the guilty every gleam of hope, that only balm of afflicted minds. He orders their estates to be confiscated, and leaves them nothing but life, convinced, as it should seem, that if he condemned them to execution, he should by that stroke of justice put an end to all bodily pain, to agony of mind, and the pangs of a guilty conscience. It was for this reason, he says, that legislators, in the first ages of the world, inculcated the notion of rewards and punishments in a future state, conceiving that, without those impressions, death would lose its terror.

Between these opposite opinions, I see on which side my interest lies. Cæsar has taken what is supposed to be the popular part. Should I accede to his doctrine, the public voice will not condemn a decision of which he is known to be the author. If, on the other hand, I throw my mite into the opposite scale, I foresee that a storm may gather round

round me: but the public welfare outweighs all other considerations.

Cæsar, it must be acknowledged, has delivered his sentiments in a vein of eloquence worthy of himself, and the dignity of his ancestors: his speech may be considered as a pledge and earnest of his future zeal for the good of his country. In him we see the difference between the frothy declaimer, who harangues his circular audience in the forum, and the real orator, who aims at a popular character by the means that deserve it; by being the true friend of the people.

The men who at all events court popularity, are well known: one of them, I perceive, is absent on this occasion. I look round for him in vain: by affecting to be tender on a question of life and death, he hopes to be thought incapable of voting against a Roman citizen, and thereby gain the applause of the populace. And yet this very person, two days ago, concurred in a vote for committing the malefactors to safe custody; he voted supplications to the gods in my name; and even yesterday he agreed to reward the witnesses in the most ample manner. It is now too late for him to retract. In the former proceedings he took a decided part, and, by consequence, his sentiments are fully known.

Cæsar deals more openly with us: he fairly tells us, that he founds his opinion on the authority of  
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the Sempronian law, which favours the life of a Roman citizen. To this the answer is obvious: the man who conspires against his country, no longer retains the rights of a Roman citizen. And further; the Sempronian law did not protect the author of it; he suffered death by order of the people.

Would Cæsar insinuate, that Lentulus, by the means of bribes and largesses, acquired a popular character? would he have us imagine, that the man who now stands convicted of the most enormous crime, is still to be deemed a Roman citizen? Cæsar does not think it: distinguished as he is by the virtues of moderation and humanity, he does not hesitate to send that very Lentulus to finish his days in a dungeon. Nay more; he provides by the express sanctions of law, that no man shall, by a motion to mitigate the punishment, make a vain parade of lenity, and court curry-favour with the multitude, while in fact he is undermining his country. Nor is this all: Lentulus is to have nothing that he can call his own; his effects are to be confiscated; he is to be left to the torture of the mind, with want and the utmost distress to aggravate his misery.

But, conscript Fathers, let Cæsar's motion, if it be the sense of the house, pass into a law. I am willing to state it to the people, and I can do it with confidence, as I shall have a popular orator

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to support me. On the other hand, if you adopt the advice of Silanus, it will not be difficult to repel the charge of cruelty that may be urged against the sentence. Cæsar's argument will enable me to prove that death is the mildest punishment.

But to speak without reserve; in a case so black and flagitious as the present, what punishment can be deemed severe? I have already disclosed the sentiments of my heart, perhaps with a degree of warmth, but, certainly, without a tincture of cruelty. Cruelty, I may venture to say, is no part of my character. If in giving my opinion, I have appeared to you to speak with animation, it is the animation which compassion and humanity inspire. For what are the objects that crowd upon my imagination? they are terrible indeed. I see this city, the pride and ornament of the world, the asylum of the nations round us, involved in flames, and smoking on the ground. I see my countrymen in mangled heaps stretched on the bare earth, unburied, weltering in their gore. Cethegus with rage and fury in his countenance, and a reeking poniard in his hand, at this moment glares before my eyes. I see Lentulus seated on the throne which the Fates prepared for him; I behold Gabinius in purple state; and even now Catiline advances at the head of his army; the shrieks of dying matrons, the cries of their wretched children,

children, and the lamentations of violated vestal virgins, sound in my ears, and strike my soul with horror. The scene is truly deplorable: and shall your mercy be extended to the man who planned this tragic spectacle? Let me suppose a case: if the master of a family had the misfortune to find his wife destroyed, his children butchered, and his house burnt to the ground by the treachery of a slave, would it not be natural to execute instant vengeance on the perpetrator of a deed so vile and horrible? Should the master forbear to strike, what would be said of him? would he pass for a man of a mild disposition, and not rather for a person divested of all the tender visitings of nature? To me he would appear an unfeeling monster, who could behold so horrible a crime, and not sacrifice the author of it to his just resentment.

We are now, conscript Fathers, in that very predicament: we are to pronounce judgment on the unnatural traitors, who intended to drench their poniards in the blood of our wives and children; who conspired to make this flourishing city a heap of ruins; who intended to place the Allobrogians at the head of this great empire: these are the men whose fate we are now to decide. If we act with vigour, vengeance in such a case will be justice and humanity to our fellow-citizens; on the contrary, if we are not fired with  
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indignation ; if we spare the guilty, the charge of being tame and spiritless in our country's cause will lie heavy on us all.

We know that Lucius Cæsar, the brother-in-law of Lentulus, declared the other day, that so foul a traitor, though married to his sister, deserved to suffer death. Is that a cruel sentence ? no ; it proceeded from a true patriot spirit : he pronounced it in the hearing of Lentulus, and to give it weight and authority, he cited the case of Fulvius, his grandfather, who, with his son, a youth in the prime of life, was by order of the consul strangled in prison ; and what was the crime for which they suffered ? the son was sent to address the senate ; that was the whole of his offence. As to Fulvius the father, what was alleged against him ? he had not meditated the destruction of his country. Agrarian laws and other acts in favour of the people were at that time in agitation ; the measure met with opposition, and the conflict of parties was carried on with animosity. In that scene of contention, the illustrious grandfather of this very Lentulus acted a distinguished part. Determined to vindicate the constituted authority of the state, he went forth to meet Gracchus sword in hand, and in the fray received a dangerous wound. In the present juncture, what is the conduct of our modern Lentulus ? he invited the Gauls to join in an impious



league against the commonwealth ; he roused the slaves to an insurrection ; he pressed Catiline to return at the head of his army ; he gave the whole senate to be butchered by Cethegus and his band of assassins ; he assigned the general massacre to Gabinius ; he ordered Cassius to set fire to the city, and left all Italy to be laid waste with fire and sword by the rebel army. These are the exploits of Lentulus : and are we to linger in debate ? are we afraid to draw the sword of justice ? Believe me, we have more reason to fear, that by ill-timed lenity we may bring upon ourselves the imputation of cruelty to the commonwealth.

Candour, conscript Fathers, requires that I conceal nothing from you. A report is in circulation, and has reached my ears, that the consuls are not armed with sufficient force to carry your decree into execution. This you may be assured is an idle rumour. I have concerted every thing with due precaution, and the people, determined to act with spirit, and support the honour of government, have seconded all my endeavours with the most prompt alacrity. All degrees and ranks of men declare for their country ; all ages and conditions are united ; the forum and the temples round it are crowded with honest citizens ; and the avenues to this house are filled by the friends of the constitution. A spirit of union prevails, such as was never known since the foundation

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tion of the city. All are of one mind, except, indeed, those desperate wretches who felt their inability to subsist in quiet times, and rather than perish alone, wished to bury themselves under the ruins of their country. All of that description I am willing to except; I separate them from the class of honest men. To say that the conspirators are degenerate citizens, were to give them too high a title; they are the vilest traitors, the most pernicious enemies. In every other quarter, what ardent zeal! what unanimity! what a spirit of emulation!

Need I mention the Roman knights? they acknowledge your authority; they submit to your decisions; they vie with you in zeal and ardour for the common cause, and they know no other contention. After a dissension of many years, they now forget all animosity; they renounce all party distinctions; (*AAA*) they are reconciled to the great council of the state; this day unites them to you in ties of the firmest concord. That this coalition was formed in my consulship, is an event that I feel with pride and pleasure; and if the good temper of the times shall render it perpetual, the state, I venture to say, will never again be rent and torn by party divisions.

The tribunes of the treasury have stood forward to manifest their zeal; and the clerks in office

(*AAA*) Note 49.

have followed their example. The business of the day required their attendance for the purpose of certain arrangements among themselves; but, laying aside all thoughts of private interest, they are now assembled in a body, resolved to vindicate the rights of their fellow-citizens. The whole number of free-born Romans, even those of the meanest condition, are ready to arm in the cause of their country. For, in fact, is there to be found an honest man, who does not feel the love of liberty warm at his heart? to whom these temples, this magnificent city, this parent soil, and this fair day-light, which we enjoy, are not objects of affection and delight?

The conduct even of the emancipated slaves is worthy of our notice. Those men, by their industry and merit, have been able to obtain the privilege of citizens, and they now consider Rome as their native place. They are ready to stand forth in defence of the commonwealth, while others, born among us, the descendants of illustrious families, have acted, not as if they were in their mother-country, but in a city belonging to the enemy.

But why should I speak of men who have joined to protect their lives and liberties? there is not to be found a single slave, possessed in a moderate degree of the comforts of life, who does not see with horror the frantic efforts of unnatural traitors;



tors; who does not wish to preserve this flourishing city; who is not willing to the utmost of his power to be an assertor of the public weal.

For these reasons, if any of you have heard, that an infamous agent of Lentulus, a notorious pander for his pleasures, is busily employed in running from shop to shop, by the force of bribes to raise an insurrection in favour of his master, let the report make no impression on your minds. The fact is true, but it has failed of success. None have been found so desperate in their circumstances, none so abandoned in their morals, as to engage in such an attempt. There is not a man, however needy, who is not pleased with the possession of his shed; who does not value his trade, and the working tools by which he earns his bread; who does not love his cottage, and his humble bed; who does not prefer the homely littleness of a quiet life to scenes of distraction, blood, and massacre. In a word, the greatest part, I might say the whole body of shopkeepers, are fond of peace and good order. Their manufactures, their warehouses, and the profits of their industry, depend on the numbers of society, and the tranquillity of the times. If their gain is diminished when their shops are shut, what must be the case when they are burnt to the ground? (*BBB*)

(*BBB*) Note 50.

This, conscript Fathers, is the present condition of the city: the people are listed on your side; shew by your conduct that you have not deserted the people. You have a consul who has escaped the snares of insidious enemies, and still lives, not for himself, but for your preservation. All ranks and orders of men are united; one mind, one opinion, one principle prevails in every quarter of the city; in the cause of the commonwealth all are agreed; one voice, one heart, one hand. To you, conscript Fathers, your country, encompassed round with fire-brands, and beset by vile incendiaries, raises her suppliant voice; to you she lifts her hands; to your care she recommends herself, her numerous progeny, and the lives of all her citizens; to you she dedicates the capitol, her household gods, her domes and temples, the eternal vestal fire, and the walls and ramparts of Rome. The moment is great and awful. You are this day to decide your own fate, and that of your wives and children; you are to pronounce a judgment, on which will depend the rights, the fortune, and the liberties of a whole people. You have, what does not often happen, a leader zealous for your interest, and regardless of himself. You have on your side all honest men; the whole body of the people, all of one mind, one sentiment. The mighty fabric of this great empire, raised by the labour of ages; the plan of laws established by  
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the virtue of your ancestors; this glorious city, so long protected by the immortal gods; all, in the course of one night, were in danger of being utterly destroyed. That so horrible a treason may never be attempted; that it may not so much as enter the heart of man, it is yours this day to provide by a just and firm decree.

In all that I have said, conscript Fathers, it was not my intention to inflame your minds with zeal for the public: that I know is unnecessary; I know that your indignation rises above the feeble emotions that animate my inferior powers; but in a business of such vast importance, the consul ought not to be silent. And now, before I proceed to put the question, may I be allowed to say a few words concerning myself? I am aware that the conspirators, whose numbers are by no means contemptible, will be to a man my implacable enemies; but as matters stand, they are a detected, a ruined faction. Should they revive hereafter, and under some popular demagogue make head against your authority, I shall never repent of the part I have acted. Assassination is their trade: they may threaten me with death; but death is the lot of man; it awaits us all, and, come when it may, it can never extinguish the glory of my life, established as it is by your decrees. Honours have been bestowed on others for having rendered services to their country; I



have been distinguished for saving it. May the name of Scipio, that great commander, who drove Hannibal out of Italy, and forced him to seek a retreat in Africa, stand for ever recorded in the rolls of fame. May the second Scipio Africanus, who destroyed Carthage and Numantia, those two hostile cities, be crowned, as he deserved, with immortal glory. Let Paulus Æmilius, who led Perses, a great and powerful monarch, a captive at his chariot-wheels, receive the homage of posterity. Let the name of Marius, who twice delivered his country from the fierce invasion of barbarians, never fall into oblivion; and, above all, let Pompey, whose great exploits have no other bounds than those that limit the course of the sun, be celebrated with the applause of all succeeding ages. In the temple of fame, where they must all be placed, my name may find a niche. Perhaps it will not be contended, that to open a way to distant provinces, is more meritorious than to take care that our victorious generals may have a city to which they may return to enjoy their triumph.

Foreign conquest, it is evident, has an advantage over domestic success. If distant nations are subdued, they are reduced to obedience; if received as allies, they retain a sense of the obligation. The case is different when we quell intestine commotions: the treason may be defeated,  
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but the conspirators still retain their malignant spirit, uncontroled by force, and unreclaimed by moderation. The consequence is, that an eternal warfare with the enemies of the constitution must be my lot ; but I am not alarmed. I neither fear for myself nor my family. I rely with confidence on your protection, and that of all honest men. The dangers which we have escaped, will leave a lasting impression on the minds of a people rescued from destruction ; they will stand recorded in your memory, and be the theme of foreign nations. As to my enemies, I would have them know, that the coalition this day formed between the senate and the Roman knights, supported as it is by the approbation of all the good and worthy, will be an impregnable bulwark against the machinations of perfidious men.

Upon the whole, conscript Fathers, I have but little to request of you. I have resigned the command of an army, and with it all the hopes of a triumph ; I have given up a rich and flourishing province that fell to my lot ; I have sacrificed all views of private advantage ; and in return for these disinterested acts, and all my exertions in your service, the only recompense I crave at your hands, is your generous remembrance of a period big with danger, and the tenor of my administration. While a sense of these times retains a  
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place in your affections, I shall think myself covered by an impenetrable shield.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the rage of faction should recover strength, and be once more able to cope with the authority of this august assembly, all that remains for me is, to recommend my infant son to your protection. Bear in mind that he is descended from a consul, who, in his country's cause, exposed himself to the assassin's dagger: that reflection will not only shield my son from danger, but under your kind patronage lead him forward in the career of honours.

Proceed, therefore, conscript Fathers, with the vigour which you have already displayed, and determine with firmness. Remember that your own existence, your wives and children, the temples of the gods, their shrines and altars, are now in your power. The very being of the commonwealth, this imperial city, your rights and liberties, and the peace of all Italy, depend upon your voice. The time calls for vigour; weigh every circumstance, and decide with dignity. In me you have a consul, who, while he lives, will neither want inclination to obey your commands, nor power to carry them into execution. (CCC)

(CCC) Note 51.

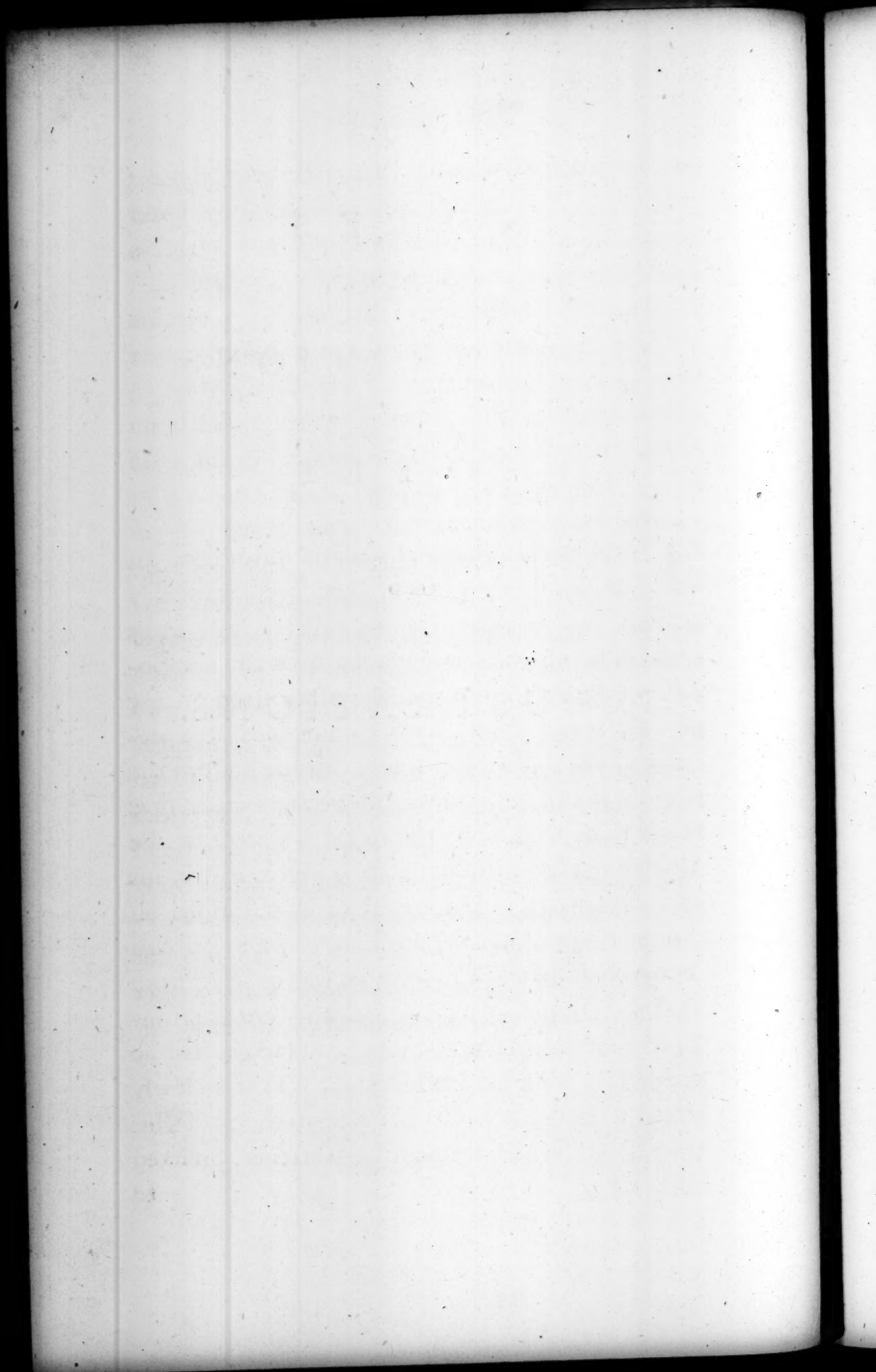
NOTES



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NOTE 1, Page 5. (*A*)

**T**HE Preface in which Sallust introduces an account of himself, has been variously praised and censured by the critics. All agree that the sentiments are just, and that the composition is elegant ; but, on the other hand, many of the commentators have pronounced it a detached essay, altogether foreign to the body of the work. It should, however, be remembered, that this was at that time the mode adopted by the Roman authors. We find that Cicero had in his common-place book a variety of dissertations on different subjects, and, when he chose to publish a philosophical tract, his custom was to select from that store some favourite piece to serve as an introduction to his work, though, in fact, it had no connection with his main design. This is clearly stated to Atticus, Epist. 6. : Cicero there tells his friend, that he had, through inadvertence, prefixed  
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to his treatise *De Gloria*, the preface which he had given with his academical questions. Being, he says, at his *Tusculum*, when he prepared the former work, it escaped his memory that he had already made use of the introduction. The pieces at the head of his treatise *De Finibus*, his *Tusculan Questions*, and his first book *De Legibus*, clearly shew that prefaces relating to the main work, and of a colour with it, were not established by any settled rule of criticism. It may be added, that Sallust undertook a narrative of a single, but remarkable occurrence. Had his subject been a general history, we should, most probably, have been favoured with a grave and dignified preface, such as Livy has prefixed to his work. Sallust, as it seems, considered himself as writing, what we now call, a political pamphlet, and on that occasion thought he might be allowed to talk of himself. He makes an apology for his own conduct in his pursuit of civil honours. He had been tribune of the people, and also discharged the office of quæstor, but with no honour to himself, since we read, that the censor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, deprived him of his seat in the senate. His ambition being thus severely checked, he resolved to enter on the career of literature. His example has been followed by several statesmen in France; and in England, by Ludlow, Lord Clarendon, Sir William Temple, and Lord Bolingbroke. That  
another

another noble lord, who has lately figured in the literary world, may be shortly added to the number, is not improbable. In this country a censorial power, at the time of a general election, devolves to the people at large, and the peers of Scotland. Lord Lauderdale has appealed to his constituents: should the nobility of his country, after the picture he has given of himself, no longer think him a fit representative, the noble lord will then be at leisure, like Sallust, to review his conduct, and like him to aim at literary honours. His lordship, it is true, informs us that, in his late work, he endeavoured for the first time, and *probably for the last*, to attract public attention. But leisure and disappointment may work wonders. Doctor Young says,

For bankrupts write, when ruin'd shops are shut,  
As maggots crawl from out a perish'd nut.

A nobleman, coming forth from the *decayed nutshell of faction*, will certainly not fail to excite curiosity.

## NOTE 2, Page 7. (B)

We have here the picture of a daring conspirator, drawn by the masterly hand of a great historian. It may be worth while to see the same features delineated by the pencil of the great Roman orator, in his oration, *Pro Cælio*. Doctor Middleton has translated the passage, and the reader shall have it in his words: “ He had in  
“ him many, though not express images, yet  
“ sketches of the greatest virtues ; was acquainted  
“ with a great number of wicked men, yet a pre-  
“ tended admirer of the virtuous. His house  
“ was furnished with a variety of temptations to  
“ lust and lewdness, yet with several incitements  
“ to industry and labour : it was a scene of  
“ vicious pleasures, yet a school of martial exer-  
“ cises. There never was such a monster on  
“ earth compounded of passions so contrary and  
“ opposite. Who was ever more agreeable at  
“ one time to the best citizens ? who more inti-  
“ mate at another with the worst ? who a man of  
“ better principles ? who a fouler enemy to this  
“ city ? who more intemperate in pleasure ? who  
“ more patient in labour ? who more rapacious  
“ in plundering ? who more profuse in squan-  
“ dering ? He had a wonderful faculty of en-  
“ gaging men to his friendship, and obliging them  
“ by his observance ; sharing with them in com-  
“ mon



“ mon whatever he was master of ; serving them  
“ with his money, his interest, his pains, and  
“ when there was occasion, by the most daring  
“ acts of villany, moulding his nature to his pur-  
“ poses, and bending it every way to his will.  
“ With the morose, he could live severely ; with  
“ the free, gaily ; with the old, gravely ; with the  
“ young, chearfully ; with the enterprising, au-  
“ diciously ; with the vicious, luxuriously. By  
“ a temper so various and pliable, he gathered  
“ about him the profligate and rash from all  
“ countries, yet held attached to him at the same  
“ time many brave and worthy men, by the spe-  
“ cious shew of a pretended virtue.” Such was  
the character and genius of Catiline : that there  
does not exist in this country a man so various, so  
artful, and so daring, may be pronounced without  
hesitation. But whether some of the features,  
such as his engaging qualities, and his dark am-  
bition, are not visible and prominent in some of  
our leading party politicians, the people of Eng-  
land are left to determine.

## NOTE 3, Page 9. (C)

It was this generous principle that first gave vigour and dignity to Rome in its infant state. By succouring their allies, and waging war in their defence, the Romans gained the friendship of the nations round them. The same policy, or to express it properly, the same virtue, has given energy to the British empire, till in the American war the neglect of it was severely felt. That Britain stood alone, and had no powerful alliances, was a constant topic of declamation against Lord North. But it is remarkable, that the language of opposition has of late changed its tone. The present minister is traduced and condemned, not without spleen and rancour, for having formed a connection with the powers of Europe; and, by some of the leaders of party, who do not scruple to use the language of the French *Jacobins*, the Emperor, and the princes in alliance with Great Britain, are called the *despots* of Europe. Lord Lauderdale contends, that while the regicides at Paris threatened to overturn all the states in Europe, this country ought to have remained in a tame and inglorious neutrality: but has his lordship never heard, that it was the glory of a republic, different indeed from that of the French Convention, to *interfere in the internal government* of foreign states?

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Has his lordship never read the grand description of the Romans, drawn by a great historian, who tells us, that vanquished nations with wonder saw, that there existed a people who could, at their own expence, their own risk and labour, enter into great and difficult wars for the rights and liberties of the injured and oppressed? and this, not only for their neighbours, or for territories joined to them on the same continent, but for nations divided from them by the sea; to the end, that there should not be suffered in any quarter of the globe an unjust or tyrannical government, but that equity, moderation, and justice should be universal principles. Lord Lauderdale, it is to be presumed, is a polite scholar; he will, therefore, be glad to read the passage in the words of Livy: *Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ sua impensâ, suo labore ac periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum. Nec hoc pro finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præstet; Maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit; et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sit.*—Livy, lib. 33.



NOTE 4, Page 11. (D)

In this passage Sallust has given a short, but full account of the primitive manners of the Romans. We see the causes of their rapid success; and the prodigious grandeur to which they arrived; till a vast influx of riches introduced luxury, and the various vices which have ever been the baneful distemper of sinking states. Military discipline, undaunted courage, and the love of glory, were the principles that gave life and vigour to the whole community. It may be truly said, that the same generous motives for a series of ages inspired and animated the natives of Britain. The same spirit has shewn itself from the moment when the French anarchists became aggressors in the present war. We find, however, that Lord Lauderdale condemns the zeal and ardour of the people. He talks of the vast accession of wealth that might be gained by an ignominious neutrality, at a time when the peace of all Europe was in danger. Did his lordship, in addressing himself to the people of England, imagine that he was talking to a nation of Dutchmen? as it should seem, his maxim is, "PERISH OUR CONSTITUTION, SO WE INCREASE OUR COMMERCE." He ought to know, that the prodigious commerce of this country owes its origin and stability

stability to the spirit of the constitution. While there is valour in our fleets and armies to repel all foreign force, and while we have a just administration of laws to protect the rights and property of the subject, industry is excited, and men are willing to labour for the acquisition of what they are sure, under the sanction of the laws, that they may call their own. Should this country be so mean, so abject, so dastardly, as to *affiliate* with a French Convention, every thing will be in requisition. At present, with the same spirit that drove Julius Cæsar from the coast, Britain defies the menaces of France. The war has thrown the trade of the world into her hands. Why does Lord Lauderdale attempt to disguise that the French have no trade? The language of the Convention is, that they have no merchandize to export in exchange for foreign commodities, and, being in want of supplies, they must export bullion and money: how long a nation, so circumstanced, can prosecute a war, must be decided by the bravery of our naval officers. But Lord Lauderdale, in a strain not unlike Barrere, will have it that our commerce is ruined, and that twelve thousand of our seamen are now pining in the jails of France. It is to be regretted that he has not produced his vouchers: his channels of information would then be known to his constituents. It must, however, be admitted, that British

tish merchantmen are occasionally taken by the privateers of the enemy. The fact is, the spirit of adventure induces some to run the hazard of the seas without waiting for convoy : the cargo is insured, and the loss falls on the underwriters. Some vessels, there is reason to think, go to be taken. But what a proud display of national vigour was lately exhibited by Lord Howe? he conducted four hundred sail of merchantmen to a certain latitude, and then left them, out of the reach of danger, to steer their course to every quarter of the globe.

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NOTE 5, Page 13. (E)

The same thing happened in the rude ages of this country. Our Saxon ancestors brought a spirit of liberty from the woods of Germany : but before they planted themselves in Britain, they had experienced in their own country the disadvantages that naturally result from letting the people in a mass be the legislators and governors of the state. The *Wittenagemot* was accordingly established. From that institution parliaments derived their origin, and have continued to this day the great council of the nation. But we see, in the history of Sallust, that *Catiline* and his partizans



tizans were enemies to the established authority of the senate; and, in like manner, the *Corresponding Clubs*, the *Societies for Constitutional Information*, and the mal-contents at *Sheffield*, *Norwich*, and other places, combined to reform the system delivered down from age to age by the wisdom of our ancestors. In the late trials at the Old Bailey it appeared in proof, that the conspirators laid it down as a first principle, “*That all have a right to*”  
 “*a share in the government of their own common-*”  
 “*wealth, and therefore let the people come forward*”  
 “*and say like men, “Give us universal suffrage and*”

“*annual parliaments,*” and *who shall dare to oppose*  
 “*their determination?*” They add further, that by an act of Henry VI. forty shillings a year was made a necessary qualification of a freeholder to vote for knights of the shire; and by an act of Queen Anne 600l. per annum was declared necessary for the representative of a county. But these prudent regulations, they contend, are grievances. They ask, *how is the peasant, the mechanic, the manufacturer, to obtain a knowledge of the constitution? his time is employed in labouring hard to provide for his family; he has of course no leisure for political researches; and yet nothing will content these sagacious reformers but universal suffrage; and to obtain it, they say in their letters, let us unite hand and heart, and who shall dare to withstand our just demands?* Catiline argued in the same manner; but there was a

vigilant consul to watch his motions. In like manner, the conspirators in this country have found, that they were under a minister, who was determined to be as active to save the constitution, as they were to destroy it. Their knot is dissolved, their machinations are discovered, and they will now do well to follow their several vocations, to be honest men, and venerate the wisdom of their ancestors.

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NOTE 6, Page 15. (F)

The men who are loud in the cry of a faction, are generally such as Sallust has described. They have no useful talent, and therefore hope to distinguish themselves by being the leaders of tumult and distraction. We have seen some of this description busy and active in calling a common-council at Guildhall, and then contriving to fill the place with a banditti from *Chalk-farm*, in order to exclude the real liverymen of London, and by that stratagem prevent any thing like deliberation.

NOTE

## NOTE 7, Page 24. (G)

To be weary of the good, which, being present and in possession, may be enjoyed without interruption; and to grasp at something distant, imaginary and uncertain, has been in all ages the frailty of human nature. It is seen in all ranks of life, but in none so conspicuously as in the class of politicians who think themselves qualified to be, in the modern phrase, radical reformers of their country. Even men of rank and fortune favoured Catiline's conspiracy; and in this country it is most certain, that a desire of innovation has occasionally discovered itself in men possessed of property, and among people in trade, who are pursuing a great line of business with a certain prospect of success. In times of tranquillity they are sure of rising to affluence; and yet, though they may be convinced by the example of France, that anarchy and confusion can produce nothing but distress and beggary, these men, deluded by *Jacobin principles*, are known to favour the disturbers of the public peace. The great and opulent Crassus, we are told by Sallust, connived at Catiline's designs: for this conduct he had political reasons; he saw the growing power of Pompey with the jealousy of a rival, and in a public convulsion he hoped to rise to the first eminence in the state.

Whether



Whether there is in this country a man, not indeed as rich as Crassus, but as high in the eyes of the people, who feels the pangs of disappointed ambition, and wishes by any means to supplant his antagonist, the present writer is not qualified to pronounce. The question is delicate and important: it must, therefore, be left to those who have opportunities of noting what passes in parliament. It is for them to judge, whether they do not occasionally hear flights of *Jacobin* oratory, instead of the sentiments of an English heart.

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NOTE 8, Page 28. (H)

The spirit of party and faction, which in every age and nation has been the source of public disturbance, is represented by Catiline in the most amiable light. Lord Lauderdale seems to have followed his example: he expatiates at large, and calls forth all the treasures of his imagination, to furnish and complete the panegyric of faction. He tells us, it is the *only engine which enables men in this country to combine in aid of public virtue; it has been for many years the uniform source of his political conduct. In the same line of opposition he is determined still to continue. He says, "it would be to*  
*"betray his duty, and violate the trust reposed in him,*  
*"were*

“ were he, in any situation, to give the present mini-  
 “ stry that confidence which he is ready to acknowledge  
 “ ought to be extended to government in times of dif-  
 “ ficulty and danger. To act unanimously, may, from  
 “ the nature of our situation, be desirable; but to act  
 “ with Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, is completely  
 “ impossible.” Such is Lord Lauderdale’s notion of  
 public virtue: power, he acknowledges, is the end  
 and aim of every party, but always, he would have  
 us believe, *for the public good*. This is exactly the  
 picture of faction drawn by Sallust: the historian  
 observes, that, in his time, the contending parties  
 assumed specious names, and pretended to have  
 nothing so much at heart as the public good,  
 while the acquisition of power was their exciting  
 motive: *Per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agi-  
 taverunt, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti jura populi de-  
 fenderunt; pars, quo senatus auctoritas maxima foret,  
 bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia  
 certabant*. This, however artful men endeavour  
 to gloss it, is the true history of faction: it serves,  
 in Lord Bolingbroke’s language, to unmask the  
 conduct of those who labour with all the skill,  
 and, which is more considerable, with all the au-  
 thority they possess, to keep up the division of  
 parties, that each may continue to be, in its turn,  
 what all of them have been too often, the instru-  
 ments and victims of private ambition. *Dissert.  
 on Parties, Letter II*. The late Lord North, many  
 years

years ago, gave the true definition of party: he said emphatically, "*opposition has always one and the same reason for every thing it does.*"

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NOTE 9, Page 28. (1)

It is worthy of notice, that the topics which Catiline urges in the course of his artful speech, are to be found in the dispatches of the Corresponding Societies, and in Lord Lauderdale's pamphlet. Catiline says, *all power is in the hands of a few imperious demagogues, while he and his associates are a mere vulgar herd, without place or preferment.* The London Corresponding Society, in their address to the people, declare that *their complaints are derided by those in power, a band of placemen; pensioned with the extorted produce of the peasant's labour; a proud nobility, wallowing in riches acquired somehow; a set of pensioned and all-devouring locusts in office.* Catiline says, *the people were obliged to bend to a set of proud oppressors, who, if a strong combination was formed, would tremble before men determined to assert their rights.* The London Corresponding Society says, "*Unite with hand and heart, claim what is your right, persevere and be free; for who shall dare to withstand your just demands? Oppression, already trembling at the voice of individuals, will*



*will shrink away and disappear for ever."* Catiline says, *an insolent oligarchy has engrossed all power and riches, and left nothing to the people but disgrace, contempt, and danger, with the terror of prosecutions.* The London Corresponding Society says, *Unjust and wicked judgments have been executed with rancour and malignity; our respectable and beloved fellow-citizens have been cast fettered amongst felons in the bulks; and Muir and Palmer are martyrs to freedom. The bill-sticker of our society has suffered under the most unjust prosecution, by a stretch of prerogative and abuse of power.* Lord Lauderdale agrees with Hardy: he says, *We have seen the mild practice of the British law departed from; obsolete statutes resorted to for temporary purposes, and temporary constructions given to known and defined laws.* Through the whole tenour of Catiline's speech, there is not an argument which we do not see displayed and enforced by the seditious clubs in London, Norwich, Sheffield, and elsewhere: Catiline talks of Agrarian laws; the Corresponding Societies say, common lands must be restored to the public. Catiline pours forth a torrent of invective against all the eminent men in Rome, and bestows the highest encomium on his partizans: in the same manner Lord Lauderdale is lavish in praise of the *rump* opposition to which he belongs; and to vilify the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, he employs all the flowers of rhetoric, which may be culled

culled every day at Billingsgate. For the same purpose, the Society for Constitutional Information proposed to have a BLACK AND WHITE BOOK.

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NOTE 10, Page 33. (K)

The firmness with which Cicero acted against the conspirators, was highly offensive not only to the open and avowed partizans of Catiline, but also to a number of eminent citizens, who, for their own private views, wished for nothing so much as a scene of tumult and public distraction. Sallust knew that the undeserved resentment which began to rankle in the minds of a faction, gathered strength in time, and at last compelled Cicero to depart from the city which he had saved from destruction. Clodius, says Doctor Middleton, filled the forum with his band of slaves and incendiaries, and published a law *to the Roman people, as he called them, though there was not one honest citizen, or man of credit amongst them.* By that law, Cicero was interdicted from fire and water, and whoever presumed to move, speak, or vote, or to take any step towards recalling him, was to be deemed a public enemy, unless those should first be recalled to life, whom Cicero unlawfully put to death. Sallust, when he wrote  
his

his history, was aware of those violent proceedings, and yet is content to glance at them, without so much as a hint of disapprobation. The minister of this country, determined, as it should seem, to make Cicero the model of his conduct, has kept a watchful eye on the machinations of our internal enemies, and, like Cicero, has provoked the resentment, not only of the conspirators, but of a higher class of men, who have not scrupled to be the advocates of Muir and Palmer, and other convicted malefactors. But there is no reason to apprehend that Mr. Pitt, for the services he has done, by bringing a foul conspiracy to light, will be hereafter condemned to banishment, since the Society for Constitutional Information has been graciously pleased to express a wish, *that he may not be sent to Botany Bay*. Whether the *guillotine* was to be introduced, does not appear; nor is it certain, what use the reformers intended to make of their *Sheffield pikes*.



## NOTE II, Page 38. (L)

In times of public oppression, when a spirit of persecution, arising from frivolous jealousy or the pride of power (as has often been the case) directs the measures of government, spies and informers have, with good reason, been deemed the pest of society. But when secret cabals are established, when sedition is propagated by corresponding societies, when meetings and conventions are held for the purpose of undermining the state, the machinations of the disaffected can only be known from the information of such as are admitted to the councils of evil-minded men. Cicero had recourse to Fulvia, a woman of pleasure, and by her means drew his intelligence from a senator engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. This proceeding we may be sure was condemned by the conspirators and their friends. Had there existed at that time a *Morning Chronicle*, a *Gazetteer*, and a *Morning Post*, and if such productions had survived the injury of time, we should now be entertained with copious invectives against spies and informers. Of late we have had enough on that subject; but Cicero acted with judgment, and the means which he adopted, will be at all times necessary, and consequently, always justifiable.

NOTE

## NOTE 12, Page 38. (M)

Antonius has been mentioned as a friend of Catiline's party. Cicero, however, was able to draw him over to the interest of the commonwealth. This, according to Lord Lauderdale, was criminal in the consul and his colleague; in the former, because party and faction are necessary in a well-constituted government; and in the latter, to give up his party for the good of his country, was a scandalous breach of trust. Antonius, according to Lord Lauderdale's principles, ought to have been *true to the gang*.

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 NOTE 13, Page 42. (N)

In a free government, where the laws are calculated to secure the rights of individuals, and to protect public liberty, it is obvious that, in times of danger, when traitorous combinations are formed against the state, the magistrates stand in need of new powers, unknown to the general tenour of the constituted authorities, such as suit the crisis of affairs, and have sufficient energy to crush the machinations of clandestine enemies. The Romans soon perceived, that, in certain conjunctures,

junctions, it was necessary to strengthen the hands of government. Having reason to fear the danger of an internal sedition, while they had a foreign war upon their hands, they judged it proper to create a single magistrate with absolute power, who, because his will was to be implicitly obeyed, was vested with the title of dictator. Livy says, *Imperium dictatoris suo ingenio vehemens*; but the Romans submitted to his authority, in order to secure their constitution. The office, however, was created for a limited time only, and soon fell into disuse, as it was seen that, whenever the exigence demanded it, the same extraordinary powers might be exercised by the consuls. Accordingly the senate decreed, that the consuls should take care of the commonwealth, and from that moment those magistrates assumed the reins of government, with unlimited power, and continued it till the danger was removed. To this practice the occasional SUSPENSION OF OUR HABEAS CORPUS ACT seems to bear some analogy, though it is not so extensive in its operation. The Habeas Corpus Act passed in the reign of Charles II. Hume says, “ *This law seems necessary for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration alone may induce us to prefer our present constitution to all others. It must, however, be confessed, that there is some difficulty to reconcile with*  
such



*such extreme liberty the full security of government, and the regular police of a great state."* The truth of this observation was soon proved by experience, and accordingly Barnet tells us, that in the beginning of William III. complaints were made of illegal commitments of suspected persons for high treason, though there was nothing sworn against them. But the danger was so apparent, that parliament made a precedent for securing a ministry that should, upon the like necessity, act in the same manner. They indemnified the great officers of state from all that had been done contrary to the *Habeas Corpus Act*; and they also passed another act, empowering the king in council to apprehend and detain such persons as he should find just cause to suspect were conspiring against his government. Since that time the same policy has prevailed on various occasions, and, surely, with sound reason; for though the *Habeas Corpus Act* has been justly called a second *Magna Charta*, there is still a superior law, and that is, the safety of the people. *Salus populi suprema lex.* The *Habeas Corpus Act* is undoubtedly the bulwark of English liberty; but if left in force in the hour of danger, when treason is known to be at work, it would be the bulwark of sedition, conspiracy and rebellion. The Corresponding Societies were aware of this, and accordingly, we find the two delegates, Gerald and Margarot, declaring in a letter to citizen

Hardy, “ *Should any attempt be made by government for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus bill, the delegates are immediately to assemble in convention at a certain place, the appointment of which is left with a secret committee.*” The conspirators knew, that if they no longer enjoyed the protection of the act, their confederacy might be dissolved, as in fact it has been, to the advantage of the whole community. Parliament saw, from the documents laid before the secret committees, that a dark design was in agitation, and therefore judged it expedient to repose full confidence in his Majesty’s privy council. Why a measure so wise and salutary met with opposition from a few in both houses, remains to be explained by Lord Lauderdale, and the party whose interest he prefers to that of his country. If they imagined that they were acting a popular part, they may now collect from the perfect acquiescence of all England, that their conduct was so much pretended patriotism thrown away. The people at large were willing to wave their rights for a limited time, in order to preserve the constitution, and all that was dear to them.

## NOTE 14, Page 48. (O)

In this address to the Roman general, the language of Manlius is remarkable. He was in open arms against his country; he knew the extent of Catiline's designs, and yet he endeavours by specious pretences to palliate his treason. He wishes to be considered as a man that acts on principle, and has formed no design against the senate. *The only object he and his associates have in view, is to shield themselves from oppression; to restore the laws which have been wrested from them; to shelter themselves from the unjust sentences of the prætors and the tribunals of justice; and to obtain a redress of grievances, and equal liberty.* In the papers produced on the late trials at the Old Bailey, the same artifice runs through the declarations of the malecontents. When the Revolution Society at Norwich desires to know, "*Whether there is a private design to rip up monarchy by the roots, and place democracy in its stead?*" the London Corresponding Society returns for answer, "*The Committee offer you every assistance in their power, but request that your questions may relate chiefly to the methods of obtaining a reform of parliament.*" This they avow as their main object, but artfully conceal their intentions with regard to monarchy. Like Manlius, the prime agent of Catiline, they have nothing in view



but *equal laws*; *security against illegal and scandalous prosecutions*; *the prevention of wicked and illegal sentences of transportation, and a revival of the wholesome laws which have been wrested from them, and of which scarcely a vestige remains.* For the same topics, in *language full of sound and fury, signifying nothing*, see Lord Lauderdale, *passim*.

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## NOTE 15, Page 48. (P)

Catiline, though actually on his way to the Manlian camp, represents himself as an innocent man, unjustly charged with fabricated crimes. The Corresponding Societies resolved, if government attempted a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or the introduction of a convention bill, to oppose the legislature of their country; they corresponded with the Jacobin clubs in France, with a design, as evidently appears, to make common cause with the republicans of France; and yet we are told by Lord Lauderdale, that *the assertion of a conspiracy has divided and disjointed the best energies of our country. The character of the nation has been calumniated; the spirit of the people been belied and blasphemed.* This is a round assertion, but utterly groundless. The prosecution of ten or a dozen cannot impeach the national character; and

and if the machinations of the Corresponding Societies are the *best energies of our country*, it is well that they are crushed, it is hoped, to rise no more.

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NOTE 16, Page 50. (2)

Catiline had been three times a candidate for the consulship, but failing in all his attempts, he resolved to pursue violent measures. Disappointed ambition was the motive, while the public good served as the pretext. The same language has been ever held by the leaders of parties and their adherents: Lord Lauderdale says, "*The object of party has at all times undoubtedly been to acquire power; for power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. Good thoughts towards men are little better than good dreams, except they are put in act, and that cannot be without power and place.*" In this manner the delusion is carried on, and designing politicians hope that the people will be, on all occasions, the dupes of their sophistry.

## NOTE 17, Page 52. (R)

We have here a true description of the rabble, and the motives that excite them to tumult and insurrections. With this spirit they joined Lord George Gordon, and on a late occasion assembled at Chalk-farm. And yet these are the men whom the *radical reformers* of this country want to invest with universal suffrage, *that they may be governed by their own laws, and not be accountable to any power which they have not immediately constituted.* Should such a mobocracy be established, in that moment the fabric of our glorious constitution falls to the ground, and the wisdom of ages ends in gothic barbarism.

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## NOTE 18, Page 53. (S)

The London Corresponding Society disapproved of the acts of parliament that prescribe the qualification of voters for counties, and the landed estate of members to serve in parliament. By their new regulation, the *representatives were to be paid by their constituents.* This, without doubt, was a flattering prospect to the conspirators, who hoped, by the suffrages of a mob, to be returned members of parliament. *By their laws* the nation, in a short time, would be, like France, a scene of anarchy, distress, and massacre.

NOTE



## NOTE 19, Page 55. (T)

Sallust, in this passage, gives us an account of *party on principle*, which is so much admired by Lord Lauderdale. The friends of the senate, and those who took the popular side, differed as much on principle as *Whig* and *Tory* in this country, and yet we find from the historian, that all they did was, to harass, to undermine one another, and to distract their country. See Note 8, Page 218.

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## NOTE 20, Page 56. (U)

It has been justly observed, that party is the madness of many for the gain of a few: it may be added, it has been too often for the advantage of a single usurper. Sallust had reason to say, that the violent contentions of enraged factions terminated in the tyranny of a bold enterprising genius, who made every thing bend to his will and pleasure. Cinna, Marius, and Sylla, are memorable examples. The first Triumvirate ended in the sole dominion of Julius Cæsar, and the second paved the way for Augustus. Not to multiply instances, Oliver Cromwell has left a fatal warning to all conspirators and lovers of inno-

innovation. He pretended to be the friend of civil liberty, and he destroyed it. Jarring factions, and sects that were ready to cut one another's throats, united in his favour. They hated a king, and chose a tyrant. That they were all deceived, will not appear surprising, when the character of the usurper is considered. He was a man, says a great French writer, of profound dissimulation; a subtle hypocrite, and an able politician; a genius capable of forming the most daring projects, and of brooding over them in secret; in peace as well as war equally active and indefatigable. Possessing a judgment that foresaw all possible contingencies, he stood prepared for all emergencies, and left nothing to chance. Vigilant and active, he knew how to seize his opportunities, and turn all events to his advantage. In a word, he was one of those vast and towering spirits, who seem designed to disturb the peace of the world, and command amidst the general uproar. He murdered his king, and deceived the people. He saw in the huge mass of jarring sectaries, heterogeneous, visionary, and dissonant as they were, that one great point was the ruling principle of all. To broach new doctrines, and dogmatize without controul, was the epidemic phrenzy of the times. Cromwell had the art to gratify the fanatics of every denomination, and, by being all to all, he allured to his interest Anabaptists, Saints, Presbyterians,

byterians, Independents, and Fifth-Monarchy-Men. The people followed their example: when the charm of independence and equality has once gone forth, the multitude is sure to rush on blindfold, content while they hear the mere sound of liberty. The schismatics, while they were allowed to be the founders of religion, went on, without perceiving that they were rushing headlong into slavery; and their subtle conductor, who was at once a warrior and an enthusiast; who knew how to assume different characters, and act the divine, and the seeker of God, as well as the soldier and the general, was considered by all ranks of men as a person commissioned by heaven to be the protector of public liberty. Such was the character of Oliver Cromwell: he held the kingdom in subjection for a number of years, but his death restored the good old constitution. If there is at present a man of eminence, who fancies, that in a convulsion of the country, he could rise to the same elevation, his ambition has deceived him. By a mob-government he would be pronounced an *aristocrat*, and, probably, *guillotined*. Swift observes, that “ all great changes  
“ have the same effect upon commonwealths  
“ that thunder hath upon liquors, making the  
“ dregs fly to the top; the lowest plebeians rise  
“ to the head of affairs, and there preserve them-  
“ selves, by representing the nobles and other  
“ friends



“ friends to the old government, as enemies to  
“ the public.” The convention at Edinburgh  
had their doubts about the *civism* of Lord Daer.  
Were universal suffrage established, it is obvious  
what description of men would be sent to fill the  
House of Commons. In that case the scum of  
the earth would emerge; and *shoemakers, scribblers,*  
*club-orators, delegates,* and *unpilloried attorneys,* would  
seize the reins of government, and prove them-  
selves the Brissots, the Marats, the Barreres, and  
Robespierres of their country. *Di talem terris*  
*avertite pestem!*

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NOTE 21, Page 59. (*W*)

We have already seen that Cicero, by the means  
of Fulvia, a celebrated courtezan, engaged a sena-  
tor to give him intelligence, and betray Catiline's  
secrets. He now employs a similar engine against  
the chiefs of the conspiracy. The Allobrogian  
deputies have their lesson how to act their part,  
and they now appear upon the stage in the cha-  
racter of *spies* and *informers*. By these means the  
consul was enabled to counteract a dark conspi-  
racy, or, in Lord Lauderdale's language, to *disjoint*  
*the best energies of his country*. The great Roman  
orator does not scruple to avow this part of his  
conduct

conduct to an assembly of the people, and we may believe, as he was the great moral writer of his time, that the measures he adopted appeared to him perfectly consistent with all the rules of honour and sound policy.

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NOTE 22, Page 60. (X)

While Cicero exerted himself with zeal and unwearied industry to defeat a black conspiracy, his enemies represented *his administration as a tyranny, and the plot as a forgery contrived to support it*. Mr. Pitt, in like manner, has experienced the malignity of faction, and has been charged with being the author of *an unjust and unnecessary war*. Lord Lauderdale has placed himself in the van of his party, to enforce the accusation. His lordship's friend, Brissot, so long ago as the 12th of January, 1793, in a report pronounced to the National Convention, expressed himself in the same strain of invective. He did not scruple to tell his countrymen that Mr. Pitt, " by the most corrupt  
 " means, and for his own private views, had ex-  
 " cited distrusts, doubts and disorders through-  
 " out England. The Duke of Portland and his  
 " friends were duped by the Machivilian politics  
 " of the minister, and on a sudden, offered in-  
 " cense

“ cense to the idol of the day ; to that idol which  
“ before that time they trod beneath their feet.”  
Lord Lauderdale, with the true spirit of a party-  
man (the character which he professes), conde-  
scends to be the echo of his deceased friend ; to  
use Swift’s metaphor, he swallows the spittle of  
Brissot, and coughs it up again with the addition  
of his own phlegm. (See his letters to the peers of  
Scotland, *passim*.) It were a waste of time to fol-  
low his lordship through his tedious history of the  
causes that produced the French revolution. He  
ascribes it to the system of *funding* : but what be-  
comes of the encomium lavished on the wisdom  
of Vergennes ? That minister, he says, invited  
the learned and ingenious of his country, to inves-  
tigate the consequences likely to result to France  
from the American war. Had none of them sa-  
gacity enough to foresee, that in a war that called  
for all the finances of an exhausted country, *funding*  
was a dangerous system. The fact is, to give popu-  
larity to the American war, the French were encou-  
raged to propagate notions of liberty, in their ten-  
dency utterly subversive of the French constitution.  
Mr. Neckar, in his budget, laid before the orders  
assembled at Versailles, clearly shewed that it was  
not necessary to have recourse to new impositions  
to put the receipts of France on a balance with  
its expenditure. Funding, therefore, was not the  
cause of the French revolution. Besides the  
principles



principles diffused through France by the American war, the people of that country had a sufficient stock of revolutionary doctrine, of treason, rebellion, and atheism, in the works of their free-thinkers, who had poisoned the public mind, and to the natural levity of Frenchmen added the love of innovation, and a general spirit of revolt.—Hence the murders and assassinations, the plunder and massacres that raised the indignation of all Europe. But those scenes of horror, Lord Lauderdale says, *were the legitimate offspring of its former government, and never could be generated under the mild spirit of our laws, and the wise regulations of our constitution.* The administration of justice is here commended, to serve his lordship's argument, and, for the same reason, we find it, in other parts of his work, condemned without reserve. But the reign of Louis XVI. gave the French no colour, no apology for the horrible outrages that have disgraced that unfortunate country. The people found themselves at liberty to act without controul; as a great writer observes, “What is liberty without wisdom, and without virtue? it is the greatest of all possible evils; it is folly, vice, and madness, without tuition or restraint.” This, and the abolition of all religious duties, was the efficient cause of the barbarities committed in France. Dupont, a member of the National Convention, on the 14th December 1792, exclaimed

claimed in that assembly, "*What! thrones overturned! sceptres broken! kings expiring! and yet the altars of God remain!* for myself, I honestly avow to the Convention, that I am *an atheist.*"

Was there a dissentient voice? a murmur of disapprobation? the general cry was, *What is that to us? you are an honest man.* (See the *Collection of Addresses from English Clubs to the French Convention, published by Debrett.*) Is there a legislative assembly on the face of the globe, in which such a declaration could pass with impunity? Cicero says, there is no nation so barbarous, no man so wild, so brutal, so savage, as not to entertain an idea of a Supreme Being, an all-governing mind. *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Omni autem in reconscensio omnium gentium, lex naturæ putanda est.* And yet the non-entity of a moral governor of the universe, is a fundamental maxim of the French anarchists. Kings, in the language of democratic tyrants, are *crowned tygers*. The natural vanity of the people taught them to expect that their new system would find imitators in every part of Europe. For this purpose, they sent their emissaries into this country. They perfectly well knew the operation and consequence of their pernicious doctrines. Brissot says, in his report of the 12th January 1792, "*When the French republicans shall mix with the natives of India, will they not find, in*  
*the*

“ *the princes and people of the country, so many allies?*  
“ *and will it not be easy to overthrow a power, whose*  
“ *colossal statue accuses imbecility, and invites ruin?*  
“ *The West-India islands are already shaken by the*  
“ *example of the French colonies: complete the decree*  
“ *in favour of the people of colour, emancipate the*  
“ *slaves, and France will thus protect her own islands,*  
“ *and soon deprive England of hers.*” Notwith-  
standing this, Lord Lauderdale says, there was  
not a man in France who did not wish to be at  
peace with England: but it is evident that Bris-  
sot, by his report, written in a stile of envenomed  
rancour against this country, was the author of  
the war. For this headlong fury, what were his  
reasons? 1°. The British Cabinet, on the 17th of  
August 1792, recalled their ambassador. True;  
but the king, to whom that ambassador was sent,  
was then deposed, and the massacre of the 10th of  
August had roused the indignation of mankind.  
With whom was Lord Gower to remain at Paris?  
with the usurpers who had seized the helm?  
That would have been a manifest interference in  
the French government, and a shameful disre-  
gard of all moral rectitude. Was Lord Gower  
to stay amidst a band of incendiaries, perhaps to  
fall by the assassin’s knife in the next general  
carnage? 2°. Brissot says, England opposed the  
opening of the Scheldt: and is it not evident  
that the French, intoxicated with the delights of  
anarchy,



anarchy, presumed by that proceeding to be the arbiters of Europe, in violation of agreements solemnly made and ratified by the states interested in that navigation. 3°. Brissot says, the English Cabinet prohibited the circulation of *assignats*. If that notorious swindling scheme had been suffered, what would be the fate of our commerce, which shines with such prodigious splendour in the imagination of Lord Lauderdale? The merchandize of the country would have been exported, the specie drained away, and the deluded manufacturers would have had on their hands whole reams of *assignats*, in value no better than waste paper. If at any time those bills were sent to France for payment, where was the fund to discharge them? In that case, the Convention by a decree might pronounce them all a forgery. 4°. Brissot further stated, that England had given protection to the nobles, priests, and other emigrants, who escaped from the *guillotine*, or the assassin's dagger, and by an *Alien Bill* sent out of the kingdom the patriots of France: the charge is true: the generous reception afforded to all distressed fugitives, and the sums subscribed for their maintenance, will be an eternal honour to the British character: and surely it was an act of prudence, not to suffer a band of incendiaries to *affiliate* with the people of this country. Such were Brissot's ostensible reasons  
for

for a war with England: but were those the real motives? The speech of Kersaint to the French Convention, published in Debrett's Collection, shews the contrary; he laboured to prove that France had nothing to dread from a rupture with Great Britain: he says, *will the English republicans suffer a war with France?* Barbaroux, in the same debate, says, "I have voted for a war against the Cabinet of St. James's, because I entertain hopes of seeing the people of England revenge our cause on the king and his ministers." It is reasonable to ask, whence arose such sanguine expectations? The papers read at the late trials at the Old Bailey, and the addresses to the National Convention (see Debrett's Collection) prove to a demonstration, that the affiliated societies in this country were the real authors of the war. To be convinced of this, we need only read the address from the *Newington Society* to the National Convention, 31st October 1792; from the *Revolution Society*, 1st November; from the *Friends of Liberty and the Volunteers at Belfast*, 6th November; from several patriotic societies in England, 7th November, said to be from five thousand citizens; from the *Manchester and Norwich Societies*; and lastly, from the *Society for Constitutional Information*, 28th November 1792, presented to the Convention at Paris by Joel Barlow and Frost the attorney. One of those

deputies, in a speech at the bar, assured the Convention, that *innumerable societies were forming in every part of England, and, after the example given by France, revolutions would become easy.* The same orator gave notice of a thousand pair of shoes, as a patriotic gift to the soldiers of liberty, and promised a thousand more every week for the following six weeks. The address from the Constitutional Society was read by a secretary, *congratulating the French on the glorious victory of the 10th of August, and averring that the Constitutional Society spoke the sentiments of the majority of the English nation.* The President of the Convention returned a gracious answer: he said, “ *Those who now defend our liberty, will one day become the defenders of yours; and the moment without doubt approaches, in which the French will send congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain.*” Besides this, the Convention on the 19th November 1792, declared by a decree, that *France would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty.* This intercourse with France speaks for itself, and plainly shews the designs of the clubs and societies in this country. It has been urged in their defence, that war not being then declared, they had a right, as Brissot expresses it, to enter the sanctuary of the Convention, and pay their homage to Universal Liberty. Was that the object they had in view? Joel Barlow had  
had



had before that time published a pamphlet, called Advice to the National Convention of France, stating, that the constitution framed by the first National Assembly, could answer no good end, as it made a king part of the government; but the glorious victory of the 10th of August refuted the slavish maxim which says, “*a king can do no wrong,*” and established this principle, “*a king can do no good.*” Frost, the other ambassador, elated by the success of his mission, thought proper, on his return to England, to declare, *No king, none in England; I am for liberty and equality every where.* Hardy, the secretary of the Corresponding Society, gives us farther insight into this business. He invites one of the affiliated societies to join in an address to the French Convention, and adds, “*Without entering into the probable effects*” “*of such a measure (effects which your society will*” “*not fail to discover) we invite you to join us, and to*” “*that end you have a copy of our intended address.*” Hardy, no doubt, was in the secret: *Dum tacet, clamat.* The writer of the letter to Petion, the mayor of Paris, offers a gift of a thousand pounds sterling, with a promise of several more, and then adds, *if you consider this step in the same point of view that we do, you will see in it much use to the common cause in England and in France.* This, it has been argued, war not being then declared, could not be deemed high treason;

but surely, if it was not high treason, it was a preparation for it. The societies in France saw the several addresses in their true light ; that of Lâon says, in return, “ The time perhaps is not far  
“ distant, when the soldiers of our liberty shall be  
“ able to testify their gratitude to you ; their  
“ arms, their blood itself, shall be at the service  
“ of all your fellow-citizens, who, like you, ac-  
“ knowledge no rights *but the rights of man.*”  
The Society of Apt, near the Mouths of the Rhone, says, “ The Popular Societies of France  
“ desire ardently the epoch that shall permit them  
“ to address their voice to the National Assembly  
“ of Great Britain, and to offer to the soldiers of  
“ liberty of your nation, *arms, bayonets and pikes.*”  
By these and such like assurances, both parties were deluded: the conspirators in England looked for succours from their republican brothers ; and the courage of the French was roused to acts of hostility against this country. The minister of the marine at Paris, in a letter to the sea-ports, dated 31st December 1792, says, “ The republi-  
“ cans in England shew their discontent, and the  
“ repugnance which they have to bear arms  
“ against their brothers, the French. We will  
“ fly to their succour ; we will make a descent on  
“ the island ; we will lodge there fifty thousand  
“ caps of liberty ; we will plant there the sacred  
“ tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our  
“ republican

“ republican brethren. The tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea.” From these facts, and more that might be adduced, the origin of the war is palpable to sight, and Lord Lauderdale’s chimerical reasoning vanishes into nothing. The French were deceived by their republican friends in England. Expecting insurrections in every part of this kingdom, they became the aggressors. It has been asked, what is the object of Great Britain in carrying on the war? It is a war of self-defence; a war to curb the insolence of a people who had the madness to think they could give laws to the world. What is the aim, the avowed principle of the French? The answer is obvious; that there may be *no King on earth, and no God in heaven.*

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NOTE 23, Page 62. (1)

The Allobrogians betrayed the conspirators, and Cicero gave them directions how to act. He employed them as spies, and produced them before the senate in the character of informers.— Their evidence was received, and they were amply rewarded. The consul acted in the cause of his country, and the end sanctified the means.



## NOTE 24, Page 81. (Z)

Sallust has left us reason to conclude that Crassus, with views of ambition, favoured the conspiracy: with regard to Cæsar he is not so explicit. That Cæsar was suspected, appears beyond a doubt, and the artful speech which he made in favour of the conspirators, gives colour to the charge. He wished to save the lives of Roman citizens: this was the popular side, and he embraced it. His design, perhaps, lay deeper. If, pursuant to his advice, the malefactors had been committed to different prisons, a public clamour would have been the consequence, and their partizans would have been at work to rescue them. It is remarkable that Muir and Palmer, Margatrot, and others of that stamp, found advocates in both Houses of Parliament. They were tried, convicted, and by the laws of Scotland, which had been solemnly recognized and confirmed by the Union, they were sentenced to be transported to Botany-Bay: this, Lord Lauderdale contends, was repugnant to the mild spirit of the constitution. What will his lordship say, when he sees the boasted Republic of France following a British precedent, and Barrere, with his colleagues, transported to an obscure French settlement in South America?

NOTE

## NOTE 25, Page 107. (AA)

It was thought proper to annex to the foregoing narrative the four orations of Cicero, that the reader may have the pleasure of comparing the historic manner with the stile of a great orator. They both relate the same facts, and in the main corroborate each other. Sallust informs the understanding of his reader, assists his judgment, and paints to the imagination: Cicero employs all the colours of eloquence, and through the imagination makes his way to the passions. The oration now before us, was spoken before the senate on the 8th of November, A. U. C. 690. Catiline had the hardiness to attend the meeting, and to take his seat among the Fathers. Cicero rose, and, in a burst of indignation, poured forth the torrent of his eloquence. The speech, of course, was unprepared, but, as Sallust observes, it was afterwards reduced to writing, and published to the world. It has not the same methodical arrangement that we generally find in Cicero's orations: and yet method is by no means neglected. It has two objects in view: 1°. To convince Catiline, that all his dark machinations being discovered, he ought forthwith to retire from a city where he was known to be a public enemy. 2°. To explain to the Fathers, that  
though

though in the character of consul and chief magistrate, he was armed with a decree by which he might order Catiline to instant execution, he was still unwilling to put the law in force, conceiving, for various reasons, that it was more advisable to let him withdraw from the city of Rome. To enforce those two points is the main drift of the first oration.

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NOTE 26, Page 109. (BB)

Treason, or a conspiracy to subvert the constituted authority of the state, has been in every age, and under every government, considered as the highest civil crime, involving in itself almost every species of guilt, such as fraud, treachery, murder, massacre, and the whole train of calamities, that, by necessary consequence, are sure to overwhelm the peaceable and well-disposed part of the community. The Romans called it *Crimen læsæ majestatis*. Cicero, in the oration before us, cites a number of examples, to shew that it was punished with the utmost rigour of the law. Severity to traitors, he says, was the virtue of the Roman Republic. The same public virtue has always prevailed in this country, with the consent and approbation of all who prefer peace, good order and tranquillity, to confusion, anarchy, murder

der



der and depredation. A plot, in its nature tending to calamity and ruin, has lately existed in this country, and yet has found apologists, and even advocates. Brissot, in his report to the Convention, on the 12th of January 1793, says, "at these words, *the constitution is in danger*, the minds of the people were agitated, but notwithstanding the ridicule excited by the members of opposition, that great conspiracy, which is every where sought after, is no where to be found." Lord Lauderdale, following what he calls *the timid, but enlightened Brissotine ministry*, denies the existence of a plot, and complains aloud against the *unparalleled provisions of the Traiterous Correspondence Bill, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act*. In the case of the men convicted at Edinburgh, and transported to Botany-Bay, he thinks the laws of Scotland were ill expounded and unjustly stretched by the judges of that country. For this position a notable reason was assigned: in cases of sedition and other misdemeanours, the laws of England know no punishment beyond fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. His lordship, therefore, like Julius Cæsar, contended that the several malefactors, instead of visiting foreign parts, ought to have been confined for a limited time, in the prisons of Great Britain. The jails, in that case, would have been the grand seminary of sedition.

## NOTE 27, Page 109. (CC)

The decree of the senate, when the exigence of the times demanded it, was a suspension of the laws, and a transfer of discretionary powers to the consuls; it was more than our suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*. The Romans, it appears, submitted cheerfully to the law of state-necessity: the people of England have acted with the same good sense. The *Habeas Corpus* has been a second time suspended, without a murmur of discontent, except from those who think, that to oppose all the measures of government is a public virtue, and that *party is as useful to society at large, as duelling is in private life.*

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## NOTE 28, Page 111. (DD)

Cicero, in this place, makes an open avowal of his having spies and informers under his direction, to watch all the motions of Catiline, and to report his conversation. It is hoped that the minister of this country will continue to keep a watchful eye on all reformers, all clubs, and corresponding societies, and that he may say, like Cicero, the eyes of men shall be upon you, and their ears shall be

be ready to catch all your treasonable words.  
*Vives, ut nunc vivis, magnis meis præsidiis obsessus, ne  
te commovere contra rempublicam possis.*

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## NOTE 29, Page 113. (EE)

Prænesté was a city of Latium, about twenty miles from Rome. It was a place of great strength, and had a citadel almost impregnable. Catiline was determined, before he began his operations, to make himself master of that important fortress: Cicero's activity prevented him. In the same manner, there was a design in this country to seize the Tower of London, but by the vigilance of administration that project was defeated.

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## NOTE 30, Page 129. (FF)

It has been mentioned (*see Note 26*) that Brissot assured his countrymen, that a conspiracy either did not exist, or could not be discovered in this country. The same language was held by the leaders of opposition in both Houses of Parliament. Like the senators in Cicero's time, they either did not see the danger, or, for reasons  
best



best known to themselves, they affected not to see it. They treated the idea of a conspiracy with contempt and ridicule; they called it a *false alarm*, and Mr. Pitt was the grand *alarmist*. Time, however, has put an end to their flashes of wit and pleasantry. The report of the Secret Committee plainly proved, that there were machinations carried on by the corresponding societies, which, in the most urgent manner, required the immediate and vigilant attention of Parliament; the Grand Jury saw sufficient ground for sending the persons accused to take their trial; and though the juries at the Old Bailey did not think the evidence strong enough to induce them to find the culprits guilty of the specific treason with which they were charged, it is, notwithstanding, certain, that if the law allowed as many counts for seditious practices to be inserted in the same indictment, every man of them would have been convicted by the verdict of a jury.

NOTE

## NOTE 31, Page 133. (GG)

In the course of the night, after Cicero had delivered his first flaming oration, Catiline (as related by Sallust, page 46) rushed out of Rome to join Manlius in his camp. On the following day, Cicero called the people together in the forum, in order to give them an account of all that passed in the senate. This harangue proceeds on three principal points.

1°. That Catiline's flight was an event of the highest advantage to the state.

2°. That the commonwealth had nothing to fear from the forces of Catiline.

3°. That such of his accomplices as still remained in the city, would do well to return to a sense of the duty they owed to their country; but, if they persisted in their hostile intentions, they would be sure to feel the weight and vengeance of the law.

This speech was delivered on the 9th November, A. U. C. 690.

## NOTE 32, Page 133. (HH)

Tom Paine, like Catiline, saw a storm gathering over his head, and went off, with his friend Frost, to take shelter in France, and there wage an impious war against his country. He is gone, he is fled, he has escaped, he is outlawed. We may say with Cicero, that he finds his hopes defeated, and sees that we have a constitution which he could not destroy. *Se perculsum et abjectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos sæpe ad hanc urbem, quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quæ quidem letari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit, forasque projecerit.*

## NOTE 33, Page 135. (II)

Had Catiline been hurried to execution, the proofs of his guilt were not in Cicero's power, and on that account the whole faction would have been industrious to raise a clamour against the consul. In this country, the proofs were laid before both Houses of Parliament; it was seen, to a demonstration, that a conspiracy was at work. The juries, however, have declared, that the conspiracy, in their judgment, did not amount to  
high



high treason. Hence the leaders of opposition triumph; they declare with confidence, that the whole was a false alarm, and that the charge was without foundation. The cry is, *let us respect the verdict of a jury*. They should remember, that a bill of indictment was found; and they may now be told, *respect a Grand Jury*, that other *palladium* and *bulwark* of English liberty.

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NOTE 34, Page 137. (KK)

Before the papers of the Corresponding Societies were seized, the *Jacobin* newspapers abused the minister as the author of a *false alarm*; and the people at large, with an air of ridicule, were called *Alarmists*. Lord Lauderdale has not blushed to join in the cry. In answer to his lordship, and all who argued like him, it will be sufficient to quote the advertisement prefixed to Debrett's Collection of Addresses from English Clubs to the National Convention of France: "That the  
 " public may judge of the disposition of certain  
 " individuals in this country, and the nature of  
 " the intercourse which they have held with per-  
 " sons in France; that they may form a just idea  
 " of the conduct of France towards all neutral  
 " nations, towards our allies, and towards this  
 R " country

“ country itself, the following papers are collected.  
“ No further comment is made, because the pa-  
“ pers speak for themselves; they contain princi-  
“ ples (if they can be so called) subversive of all  
“ justice, and of every law upon which nations  
“ have hitherto acted; and evidently demonstrate  
“ the determined hostility of France towards this  
“ country.”

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NOTE 35, Page 143. (LL)

The difficulties of every kind which Cicero had to encounter, are fully described in the course of these orations; but in the cause of his country, he despised all opposition and malevolence. The calumny, he says, which is earned by virtue, is not calumny, but the truest glory. The minister of this country, in times of danger, has experienced the fate of the Roman orator; but when we consider the unremitting ardour with which we have seen him *ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm*, it must be acknowledged, that he may say with Cicero, *Eo animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, non invidiam, sed gloriam putarem.*

## NOTE 36, Page 144. (MM)

Numbers in this country have shewn themselves ready to espouse the cause of detected republicans ; they declared that there was no conspiracy, and that Margarot, Palmer and Muir were innocent, oppressed, and injured men. The minister has had his share of abuse. Lord Lauderdale, forgetting, perhaps, the virulent declamations of his friend Brissot, says, the language of the National Convention gave us reason to expect a long cessation of hostilities on the part of France ; and this pacific temper, he adds, employed the eloquence of Doctor Price in the pulpit. It seems to have escaped his lordship's memory, that Doctor Price in his pulpit declared that the *conjuncture was favourable to revolutions*. Mr. Pitt, he says, " has taken pains, by alarms, by " misrepresentation, by defamation, to impress " the public mind ; he propagated a report, that " the balance of power in Europe was in danger, " and the English constitution undermined ; he " talked of visionary republicans in England, " ready to co-operate in the destruction of the " constitution ; of connections with our enemies " abroad, and secret fomenters of sedition at " home." To all these assertions the answer is obvious. Lord Lauderdale admits, that the Jacobins,

cobins, when they talked of the monarchical part of our government, insulted our ears by ridiculing what they impiously termed a *tigre couronné*. That there were republicans in England combined to undermine the constitution, is evident from their addresses to various societies in France; from the answers of those societies; from the resolutions of the Corresponding Clubs to resist the legislature, and, for that purpose, to hold a convention at a central place to be appointed by a secret committee. When these things are manifest, Lord Lauderdale's argument is an affront to the human understanding. But, perhaps, his lordship thinks it a public virtue to advance fiction and absurdity in favour of his party. Such artifices (to make use of his lordship's allusion) deserve *no better name than fiddling*; but whether he is able to *fiddle* mankind out of their senses, will be seen at the next general election.

NOTE



## NOTE 37, Page 148. (NN)

It is a truth not to be controverted, that in all violent convulsions, all sudden revolutions of government, the people, however flattered by their factious demagogues, gain no kind of advantage. They change the name of their master, and groan under a new tyrant. It is the nature of a *democrat* to hate all above him, and trample upon every thing beneath him. He talks of liberty and equality; the giddy multitude, intoxicated with the sound, obey the directions of their leader; they murder, massacre, lay a scene of blood, and forge their own chains. In such a juncture the obscure and worthless grasp at power, and exercise it with the most barbarous tyranny. When the *olive-tree* has ceased to reign; when the *fig-tree* and the *vine* have no pre-eminence, the *bramble* says, come ye all under my shadow, and be safe; but if you are not obedient to my will and pleasure, out of the *bramble* shall issue forth a fire, that shall burn to the ground even the *cedars of Lebanon*. Of this truth the page of history affords ample proof, and the disasters of France are a sufficient warning to the rest of the world.

## NOTE 38, Page 149. (OO)

Cicero says with confidence, that the days of Sylla would return no more; but he lived to see another proscription, and he himself perished in it. The good sense of the people of this kingdom will most probably defeat the lovers of innovation, and it is hoped, to the end of time, make it impossible to renew the scenes of horror which have been felt by our ancestors. Without dwelling on this subject, it will be better to say with Rowe,

———Have we forgot those days of ruin,  
 When *York* and *Lancaster* led forth the battles;  
 When like a matron, butcher'd by her sons,  
 Our groaning country bled at ev'ry vein;  
 When murders, rapes, and massacres prevail'd;  
 When churches, palaces, and cities blaz'd;  
 When insolence and barbarism triumph'd,  
 And swept away distinction: peasants trod  
 Upon the neck of nobles; low were laid  
 The reverend crozier, and the holy mitre,  
 And desolation cover'd all the land.  
 Who can remember this, and not, like me,  
 Curse the vile innovating hand attempts it.  
 Remember him, the villain, righteous heav'n,  
 In thy great day of vengeance; blast the traitor,  
 Whose damn'd ambition would renew those horrors,  
 And set once more that scene of blood before us.

NOTE

## NOTE 39, Page 157. (PP)

Between the speaking of the second oration and the third, on which we are entering, an interval of more than three weeks elapsed. The former was delivered on the 9th November; the latter on the 3d December. Cicero, in the mean time, exerted his utmost vigilance, and obtained complete proof against the chiefs of the conspiracy, who remained at Rome. Sallust relates (see page 64) the particulars that passed in the senate, when the several malefactors were examined. It does not appear that Cicero, on that occasion, felt himself called upon to make a set speech; but on the following day he thought proper to give the people a detail of all circumstances, however minute. The following oration states,

1°. The evidence which he brought forward in the senate, and the means by which he gained full information.

2°. The measures of the senate against the conspirators,

3°. That the discovery of the plot was in itself so wonderful, that it was to be ascribed altogether to the interposition of the gods.

## NOTE 40, Page 158. (22)

The documents that proved the actual existence of a conspiracy, though it seems that conspiracy did not, in the opinion of a jury, amount to high treason, were laid before the two Houses of Parliament. It is unnecessary to observe, that the report of the committee expressly stated, that the design of the Corresponding Societies was a traiterous conspiracy for the subversion of the established laws and constitution, and the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France.

## NOTE 41, Page 160. (RR)

The Allobrogians inhabited the country now called *Dauphine*, and the *duchy of Savoy*, with part of *Piedmont*. As they were situated in *Transalpine Gaul*, Cicero sometimes calls them *Gauls*, and sometimes *Allobrogians*. Sallust states the use which Cicero made of the deputies, in order to produce them as witnesses against the chiefs of the conspiracy (see page 61.) Cicero avows the part he acted, and we do not find that he drew on himself a load of abuse. *Nec irritæ aut degeneres insidiæ  
facere*



*faere adversus violatorem fidei.* Abuse for public services was reserved for modern times, and modern orators. Lord Lauderdale does not hesitate to say, that “*much of the intercourse and relation that subsisted between the wealthy and the indigent (the best cement to the stability of our constitution) has been broken down; the sympathetic spirit of confidence and affection that reigned in the breasts of all, has been annihilated; and a system of espionage has spread abroad an universal feeling of jealousy and doubt.*” For the use of a foreign word he thinks proper to apologize. “It is most singular, he says, that to describe the system of the present day, he is obliged to have recourse to a French term. To such a system Englishmen have been so little accustomed, that there is not even a word in their language to convey the idea.” To this excuse for the introduction of a French word, the noble lord might have added a further apology for adopting the arguments of the Convention at Paris. His lordship’s complaints about espionage are imported: in the debate about war with England, February 1, 1793, Duclos averred, “that in England freedom of speech, as well as that of the press, has been scandalously outraged, and spies, whose profession is sought after by men of rank, who are indeed worthy the exercise of it, have been introduced into families; the royal prerogative is converted into absolute  
“ power ;

“ power; and finally, the opposition, the last barrier which yet impeded the enterprises of government, has been almost entirely overthrown by a ministry who have found it easier to divide than to combat.” From this, and similar passages in the speeches of Brissot, it is evident that Lord Lauderdale has no claim to originality.

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NOTE 42, Page 160. (SS)

The Milvian bridge, now *Ponte Molle*, was about two miles distant from Rome,

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NOTE 43, Page 162. (TT)

Relying on the good sense of all honest men, Cicero laid the letters of the conspirators before the senate, and, if the evidence fell short of his expectation, he was not afraid that his zeal in the service of his country would be a ground of reproach. In this country, the papers belonging to the *Society for Constitutional Information* and the *London Corresponding Society* were laid before a committee in both Houses of Parliament: it appeared by the reports, that the approbation of *Paine's Rights*

*Rights of Man* declared by those societies; their intercourse with the republicans of France, and their resolution to obtain a *radical reform of this country*, not by application to parliament, but by *their own authority*, were decisive evidence of a conspiracy; and yet the diligence of his Majesty's ministers has been the subject of abuse in various pamphlets and *Jacobin* newspapers. Cicero made open profession of the means he employed, and by a decree of the senate was stiled *father of his country*.

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NOTE 44, Page 162. (UU)

Though Lentulus endeavoured to palliate the matter, there can be no doubt of his intention. Swords and daggers were necessary for his treasonable purposes. The Sheffield pikes, and night-cats, contrived to run into the hoofs of horses feet, were equally necessary for the conspirators in this country. *Get arms, and learn how to use them*, was the order of the day, as soon as it was found that the law was strong enough to disperse the Convention at Edinburgh. The makers of those instruments at Sheffield gave notice to Hardy, the secretary, that the pikes were ready. Several of the Corresponding Society were directed to furnish

nish themselves with those weapons at the *Parrot*, in *Green-Arbour-Alley*, and to learn the use of them at a military society in *Lambeth*, and another in *Turnstile, Holborn*. But the conspirators, like *Lentulus* at Rome, were detected; and their excuse, like his, was ineffectual. *The attempt to colour the fact made their conduct more criminal.*

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NOTE 45, Page 163. (*WW*)

The Romans were at all times deeply tinged with superstition; hence the number of portents and prodigies recounted by their historians. Cicero observes (*De Divinatione, lib. ii. sect. 27.*) that times of danger always teemed with prophecies: in that productive season, the minds of men, alarmed and terrified, were prone to believe, and enthusiasts seized the opportunity to forge their vile prognostics. *Accedit illud etiam, quod in meta et periculo, cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur impunius.* In the history of Rome, no extraordinary event took place without some wonderful phenomenon. *Lentulus* knew this disposition of his countrymen, and, in order to make an impression on the populace, called the Sibylline predictions to his aid. That this country might not want a parallel in this, as well as other circumstances



stances which have been noted, the lovers of innovation have had a Brothers, in whom dullness, wickedness, and madness conspired to form an oracle for the rabble of Chalk-farm. Lunacy has often passed with the vulgar for light divine and inspiration. Brothers, however, had no foreknowledge of his own fate. He has been examined before a jury, and is now secured in a proper place of confinement.

There, in the straw where Bedlam's prophet nods,  
He hears loud oracles, and talks with gods.

Mr. Halhed, another moon-struck seer, would have us believe that this unhappy man is *the nephew of God*, and in his dreams and visions had commerce with the Deity.

Et varias audit voces, fructerque Deorum  
Colloquio——

But there is too much reason to conclude, that a deranged mind has been under the direction of ill-designing men: or that his reveries, if any such he ever had, were the fumes of fanaticism, sent to the *heat-oppressed brain* by some infernal agent,

—— Et mediis Acheronta affatar Avernis.

## NOTE 46, Page 176. (XX)

What Cicero observes about the end and object of the civil commotions, which from the time of Sylla and Marius had thrown the commonwealth into convulsions, cannot, strictly speaking, be applied to this country. It is true, that in the civil wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, the struggle was, not to destroy the constitution, but to possess the sovereign power. In the grand rebellion, the saints and puritans kindled the flame of discord, with a settled design to overturn the monarchy, and, on the ruins of church and state, to establish their republican form of government, and their wild enthusiasm. For this purpose the war raged a number of years, and, as Lord Clarendon says, “ was carried on  
“ with all the horrid circumstances of murder,  
“ devastation and parricide, that fire and sword,  
“ in the hands of the most wicked men in the  
“ world, could be instruments of, almost to the  
“ desolation of two kingdoms, and the defacing  
“ and deforming of the third.” The same great historian adds, “ The merciful hand of God did  
“ not only bind up and heal all those wounds,  
“ but even made the scars as undiscernible, as,  
“ in respect of the deepness, was possible, which  
“ was a glorious addition to the deliverance; and,  
“ after a miraculous restoration of the crown  
“ and

“ and the church, and the just rights of parlia-  
“ ment, no nation under heaven can ever be more  
“ happy, if God shall be pleased to add establish-  
“ ment and perpetuity to the blessings he then  
“ restored.” But the Corresponding Societies  
have shewn themselves of a different opinion :  
they have carried on a conspiracy to counteract  
the ways of providence, to overturn a constitu-  
tion which is the birth-right of honest men.  
They resolved to *govern by their own laws*. Nothing  
short of universal suffrage, and representatives  
paid by their constituents, could be adequate to  
their demands. They were to perform the merry  
farce of “ *The Guillotine, or George’s Head in a  
Basket.*” The House of Lords, as in Cromwell’s  
time, was to be abolished, for it was the plan of  
the reformers, *to be unaccountable to any power which  
they have not immediately constituted*. The heredi-  
tary right of the peers was not constituted by the  
populace ; it was, therefore, not to be acknow-  
ledged. If the conspirators had been able to  
command more time and money, there would  
have been a large importation of *pikes and night-  
cats* into the metropolis ; and then most probably  
would have been opened Horne Tooke’s book  
(bound in black) *containing the enormities of those  
who deserved the censure of the societies*. But the  
people of England knew the blessings they enjoy  
under a mixed and well-balanced constitution ;  
they

they knew that the last century experienced all the miseries of anarchy, and will therefore have the good sense and virtue to crush the machinations of those who wish, in imitation of France, to make this country a scene of desolation.

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NOTE 47, Page 181. (YY)

The fourth oration, which is now before us, was delivered in the senate on the 5th December, two days after the third harangue before the people. The question to be debated was, “What punishment ought to be decreed against the conspirators?” Two opposite opinions were proposed; one, for sentence of death; the other, instead of capital punishment, that the prisoners should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The last was the motion of Julius Cæsar. Sallust has given the speech, or, probably, the substance of it in his own stile. The historian, who certainly was not amicable to Cicero, takes no notice of this fourth oration, but tells us, that Cato, in answer to Cæsar, declared for immediate execution, and thereupon the senate decreed accordingly. It must, however, be presumed, that Cicero’s speech had great weight in the decision. It proceeds on two propositions:

1<sup>o</sup>. That



1°. That sentence of death, according to the opinion of Decius Silanus, was suited to the exigence of the times, and worthy of a Roman senate.

2°. That, though the immediate execution of the malefactors would draw on himself a train of evil consequences, he was determined to encounter every danger in the service of his country.

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NOTE 48, Page 187. (ZZ)

Cæsar was an accomplished scholar, and, doubtless, acquainted with the Socratic doctrine, and the sentiments of Plato on the immortality of the soul. A mind like his, replete with erudition, and enlarged with sublime conceptions, could not think so dishonourably of human nature, as to believe that he was created with such noble faculties, to lose at last his intellectual being, and sink down to silent dust. In that age, however, true philosophy had not diffused its light; it was confined to the chosen few, and the bulk of mankind remained in ignorance. Cæsar, therefore, took the popular side, and, on that account, his argument, which contradicted no established doctrine, admits of an apology. But in the present state of the world, when the christian religion has

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enlightened

enlightened mankind, and revelation has promised a state of future rewards and punishments, what can be said for the atheists of France, who have endeavoured to extinguish the best motives of moral conduct, by pronouncing *death an eternal sleep*? They had, before that time, renounced their God, and, after that impious decision, annihilation was a natural consequence. The observation of Polybius is worthy of notice: “The ancients,” he says, “acted with judgment and sound reason, “when they impressed the public mind with their “doctrine concerning the gods, and the belief of “rewards and punishments in a future state; and “it follows, that those of the present age are to “be charged with rashness and absurdity, who “endeavour to extirpate those opinions. For, “among the Greeks, the man entrusted with a “single talent, though he has bound himself by “the most solemn obligations, never discharges “his promise with integrity; whereas the Romans, who in their magistracies and embassies “disburse large sums of money, are induced, by “the single obligation of an oath, to perform “their duty with inviolable honesty.” See Polyb. lib. 6.

NOTE

## NOTE 49, Page 195. (AAA)

The Roman knights had been long at variance with the senate, but, as soon as they saw the danger that threatened their country, they forgot all animosities, and immediately stood forth in support of the constitution. Cicero glories in having brought about this coalition, and flatters himself that all party-divisions were from that time extinguished. Were Lord Lauderdale to comment on this transaction, there is reason to think that the character of the great Roman consul would be roughly handled. The *punica fides* would be his faith. We should hear of the mischief he did, *by annihilating a party distinguished for its real adherence to the interests of the people.* (See his *Letters to the Peers of Scotland*, page 128.) Party, his lordship says, has a tendency to preserve a balance of power, and when a war impends, is then most necessary. His lordship adds, party in England arises out of the nature of the constitution, *on principle*; but what he means by *party on principle* he does not condescend to explain. If constitutional principles are intended, there is no need of party. All honest men are of one mind; no attempt has been made (except by the Corresponding Societies) to weaken the foundations of the constitution, or to subvert the authority of laws. But it is probable, that by *party on principle* is meant

a set of men who have listed under the banners of some ambitious leader, and think themselves bound by principles of honour, to follow where he leads the way. *Hunc tota armenta sequuntur*. If the breaking up of such a party be what Lord Lauderdale calls the greatest calamity this country has felt, his lordship is not likely to gain many proselytes either by his political or his moral doctrine. The author of *Public Vices Public Benefits* stands in as fair a light. It is agreed on all hands, that party has ever been attended with pernicious consequences. Lord Bolingbroke says, “ There  
“ is no complaint which hath been more con-  
“ stantly in the mouths ; no grief hath lain more  
“ heavily at the hearts of all good men, than those  
“ about our national divisions ; about the spirit  
“ of party, which inspires animosity, and breeds  
“ rancour ; which hath so often destroyed our in-  
“ ward peace, weakened our national strength,  
“ and sullied our glory abroad. It is time, there-  
“ fore, that all who desire to be esteemed good  
“ men, and willing to procure the peace, the  
“ strength, and the glory of their country, by the  
“ only means by which they can be procured  
“ effectually, should join their efforts to heal our  
“ national divisions, and to change the narrow  
“ spirit of party into a diffusive spirit of public  
“ benevolence.” Such was the reasoning of that  
great writer : what weight it will have on the mind  
of



of Lord Lauderdale, is uncertain. It may, therefore, be proper to state the opinion of a French politician. Kersaint, the friend and fellow-sufferer of Brissot, in a speech to the National Convention, gave his idea of what has been called *party on principle*. “ The ambition and the genius of  
 “ Mr. Fox, and the intrigues of opposition, have  
 “ drawn upon their heads a chastisement sufficient to convince freemen of the dangers of  
 “ party and intrigue. If we seek the cause of  
 “ this effect, perhaps fatal to the world, we shall  
 “ find it in the character of that great orator,  
 “ who, by the force of his genius, keeps alive the  
 “ reputation of a party. The friend of man, the  
 “ parasite of kings, the generous opposer of the  
 “ English administration, the superstitious admirer of the English constitution, a popular  
 “ aristocrat, a democratic loyalist, Mr. Fox has  
 “ but one object in view, that of hurling his rival  
 “ from his throne, and of retrieving at once so  
 “ many parliamentary defeats, not less injurious  
 “ to his interest than inimical to his reputation.  
 “ He wants to draw the minister into an ambuscade.” Such is the picture of party by the hand of a French democrat: *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. If to have devoted himself to a new master, is the public virtue of Lord Lauderdale, the peers of Scotland may say to him at the next general election, since to join in the cry of the Portland  
 land

land party was heretofore your pride, why did you not follow your leader? Was the Duke of Portland to be implicitly governed by those who listed under him? *The terror of innovation, and the dread of French principles*, Lord Lauderdale says, governed Portland-house: this, there is reason to believe, was the fact. The noble duke, and Lord Spencer, with others of distinguished rank, saw a conjuncture of difficulty and danger: with a greatness of mind that will do them immortal honour, they thought it time to be of no party, but that of their country. Those who deserted on that occasion, would have shewn their wisdom and their virtue, by declaring against innovation and French principles; but they are now the feeble remnant of a party, a *rump opposition*, endeavouring to puzzle, to perplex, and to embarrass. What was formerly a party, is now a faction. *Hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.* But the object of Lord Lauderdale, and of those with whom he acts, is to *recover to this country the blessings of tranquillity and peace.* Motions have accordingly been made to send an ambassador to France, in order to open a negotiation; but, strange as it may be, Lord Lauderdale does not hesitate to say, that *in the very offer, the French will see our humiliation*; they would know that necessity, not choice, dictates the measure: he adds, “ it would be laying this country at the feet of  
“ France,

“ France, and stating in the plainest characters, “ that any terms must be accepted, because no “ resistance can be made.” If this be the case, in the name of common sense ; in the name of common honesty, why urge the necessity of opening a treaty ? Is this the *ambuscade* into which a party on principle wishes to draw the British ministry ? These are the fruits of faction ; these are the consequences of a *junto* more attached to the honour, that is, the humour of a party, than to the national interest. To conclude this long note, Cicero had reason to congratulate himself and his country, that he had reconciled the Roman knights to the measures of his administration ; and Mr. Pitt, in like manner, deserves the applause of all good men, for that spirit of union which the wisdom of his measures has so happily diffused throughout the nation. The Duke of Portland has shewn himself willing to renounce all party-connections for the sake of his country ; Lord Lauderdale, on the other hand, seems determined to sacrifice his country to the views of a party. This he thinks is the essence of public virtue.

NOTE 50, Page 197. (*BBB*)

We find that Cicero, while he was exerting himself with zeal and vigilance to counteract the enemies of his country, depended in a great measure on the good sense of the men engaged in trade, who were pursuing a life of industry. The late Corresponding Societies might have clearly seen, that this country had the same security against all their machinations. The vast numbers who carry on the trade, the manufactures, and commerce of the nation, stood aloof from the conspiracy: they knew, that by the laws their property is protected, and in return, thought it their duty to shew themselves friends to the constitution, wisely preferring the secure enjoyment of their rights to the introduction of French anarchy, by which every thing would be put into a state of requisition.

NOTE



## NOTE 51, Page 202. (CCC)

The laborious task of adding notes and illustrations to the history of a foul conspiracy, and to the speeches of the great Roman orator, is now drawn to a conclusion. The author, when he imposed this duty on himself, did not foresee the many uneasy moments which he suffered in the prosecution of his work. To find in the late transactions of this country so many occurrences nearly resembling the blackest period in the Roman history, was a melancholy and painful reflection. In the detail, however, of Catiline's Conspiracy, while the horrible designs of a desperate faction excited horror and indignation, it was a pleasure, almost inexpressible, to see that Rome had a consul who watched the motions of the vile and profligate, and was able by his unremitting diligence to save his country from destruction. It was the triumph of virtue over the most abandoned villany. This country can boast of the same felicity: while treason was plotting to undermine the constitution, and the Corresponding Societies were endeavouring to establish a mob-government; while they carried on a traiterous correspondence, and fraternized with the regicides of France; while, for their detestable purposes, they depended on *French principles*, and hoped for

pikes and soldiers from abroad, in return for their present of shoes, and other patriotic gifts to their republican brethren; the people of England saw a minister at the helm, as active to preserve the blessings we enjoy, as the *radical reformers* were to involve the nation in anarchy and ruin; they saw a minister of unwearied vigilance, firm, erect, undaunted and determined.

Whether the *party on principle*, who have opposed every measure that has been proposed in parliament, have acted with British hearts, the present age will judge, and history will pronounce hereafter. Not to dwell on this subject, the author is now desirous to relieve his mind from a train of painful reflections, and he cannot do it better than in the words of the late Judge Blackstone: “ Of the British constitution, so wisely contrived, so strongly raised, and so highly finished, it is hard to speak with that praise which is justly and severely its due: the thorough and attentive contemplation of it will furnish its best panegyric. To sustain, to repair, to beautify this noble pile, is a charge entrusted principally to the nobility, and such gentlemen of the kingdom as are delegated by their country to parliament. The protection of *the liberty of Britain* is a duty which they owe to themselves who  
“ enjoy

“ enjoy it ; to their ancestors who transmitted  
“ it down ; and to their posterity who will claim  
“ at their hands this, the best birth-right, and  
“ noblest inheritance of mankind.”

FINIS.